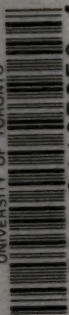
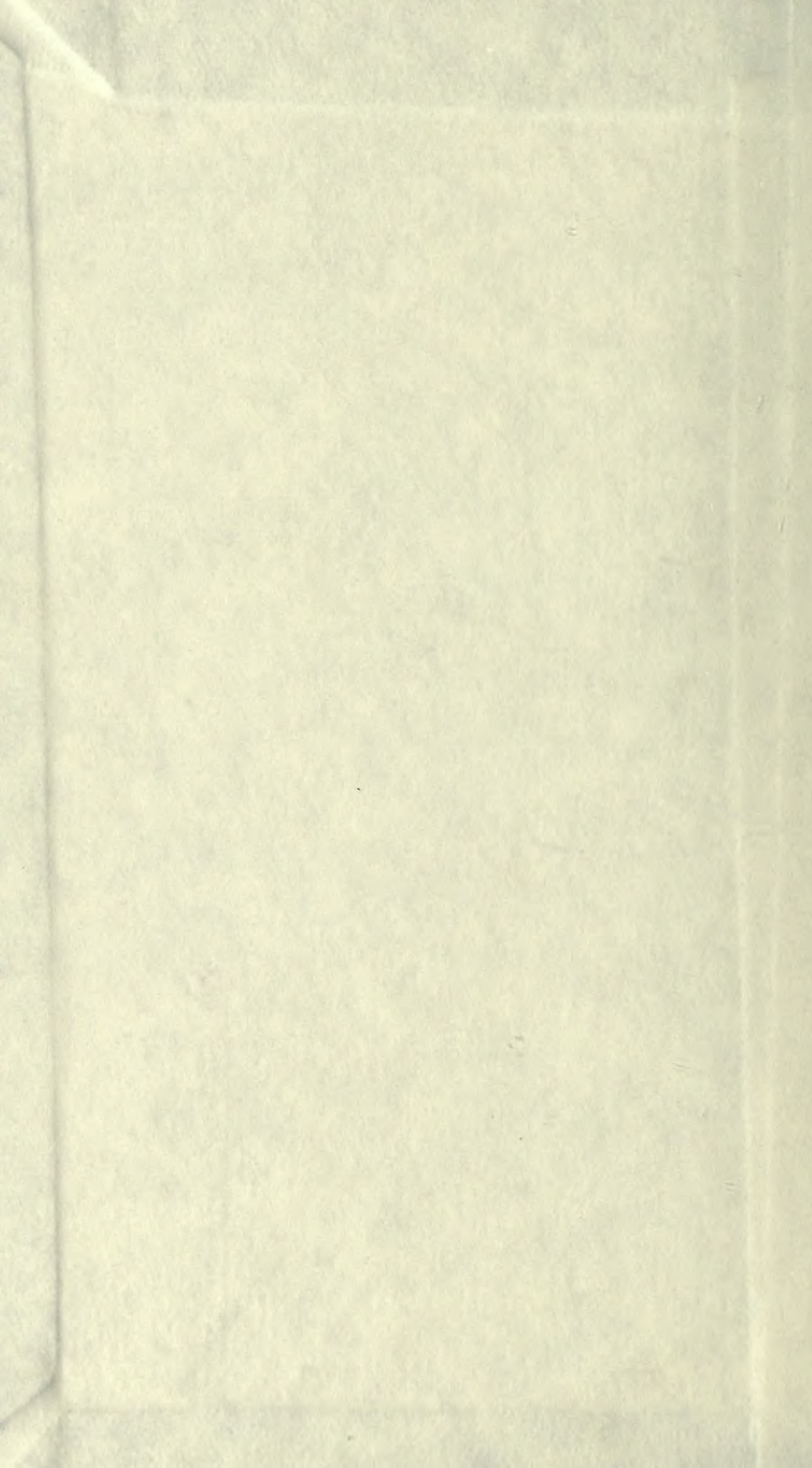



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HISTORY

BEING THE
FORD LECTURES

DELIVERED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD IN 1916

BY

A. G. LITTLE, M.A.

Lecturer in Palaeography in the University of Manchester

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A.F.H.*, or *Arch. Fr. Hist.* Archivum Franciscanum Historicum.
Quaracchi, 1908 *et seq.*
- A.L.K.G.* Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des
Mittelalters herausgegeben von P. Heinrich Denifle O.P.
und Franz Ehrle S.J. Berlin, 1885 *et seq.* (7 vols.).
- Cat. of Romances.* Catalogue of Romances in the Department
of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Vol. III. By
J. A. Herbert. London, 1910.
- Eccleston.* Tractatus Fr. Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston De
Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam edidit . . .
A. G. Little (Collection d'Études et de Documents sur
l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du moyen âge, tome VII.).
Paris, 1909.
- E.E.T.S.* Early English Text Society.
- M.O.P.H.*, or *Mon. Ord. Praed. Hist.* Monumenta Ordinis Praedi-
catorum Historica, [ed.] Fr. Benedictus Maria Reichert O.P.
Romae, Stuttgartiae, 1897 *et seq.*
- P.R.O.* Public Record Office.
- V.C.H.* Victoria History of the Counties of England.

I

THE OBSERVANCE OF THE VOW OF POVERTY

“NOT only for our own salvation has God called us, but also for the edification of others by example, counsel, and wholesome exhortation.” These words, from the General Constitutions of the Franciscan Order,¹ may be compared with a similar passage from the earliest constitutions of the Dominican Order: “Our Order is known to have been founded specially for preaching and the salvation of souls.”² It is characteristic of the Franciscan Order and of the views of St. Francis that with them the greatest stress is placed on example. The chapter on Preachers in the early Rule has little to say on preaching (and that mostly of a negative character), much on humility and the inner holiness of spirit, and may be summed up in the sentence: “Let all the brethren preach by their works.”³ St. Francis, on many occasions,

¹ *A.L.K.G.* vi. 88.

² *Ibid.* i. 194.

³ *Regula* i. cap. xvii.; *Opuscula S. P. Francisci* (Quaracchi, 1904), p. 46.

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showed himself not a little impatient of talk and eager for deeds. "The saints did great deeds, and we want to get honour and glory by reciting them and preaching about them."¹ "For I am bound ever to set the brethren a good example, seeing that for this have I been given unto them, for . . . more patiently do they bear their own tribulations when they hear that I also do the same."² This thought was constantly in his mind and guiding his actions, and it was the first duty of his followers to set the example to the world—an example of "poverty and the love of poverty."³

We have to consider how and to what extent the English Franciscans observed the vow of poverty.

Several of the friars who were instrumental in founding the English Province had been in close personal touch with St. Francis. It is doubtful whether Brother William of England, described by Matthew Paris as "companion of St. Francis, second in the Order" of Friars Minor, was ever in England after he became a friar, but the facts that a sketch of him is given in the *Chronica Majora*, and that Matthew Paris has preserved in the *Liber Additamentorum* his drawing of the Apocalyptic Christ, which for beauty

¹ Admonitiones, cap. vi. (*Opuscula S. P. Francisci*, p. 10), *Spec. Perf.* p. 67. *Collectanea Franc.* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, v.) i. 78.

² *Spec. Perfectionis* (ed. Sabatier), p. 130 (cap. 67); cf. cap. 65.

³ *Collect. Franc.* i. 77.

and delicacy of line may well rank among the miracles of the thirteenth century, make it probable.¹ There is no direct evidence that Agnellus had more than official relations with St. Francis. Albert of Pisa, however, to quote Eccleston, "said that when he was staying with St. Francis in a hospital, the saint compelled him to eat every day twice as much as he had been accustomed to eat."² This seems to take us back to the early days when the friars had no fixed habitations, but wandered from hospital to hospital, tending the lepers. The layman, Lawrence of Beauvais, who worked "in opere mechanico," according to the Rule,³ "returned later to St. Francis, and was held worthy to see him often, and to be consoled by his conversations; the holy father finally most kindly

¹ *Collectanea Franc.* i. 1-8, where these drawings are reproduced.

² Eccleston, p. 106.

³ *Regula* i. cap. vii. : "Let every man continue in the art or employment wherein he was called." Cf. *Regula* ii. cap. v., and Testament. With the growth of *opera spiritualia*, manual labour soon ceased to be obligatory (cf. Constitutions of Narbonne, *A.L.K.G.* vi. 104; *Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, viii. 320, 334, 419-20; Nicholas III. "Exiit qui seminat," *Bull. Fr.* iii. 413). One occasionally finds skilled workmen among the English friars, e.g. a friar painted the pulpit at Gloucester, c. 1230 (Eccleston, p. 47); Friar Nic. de Renham did smith's work for the chapel of St. Louis in the London convent, c. 1305 (Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, vi.), pp. 202, 203); the organs of York Cathedral were taken to the Grey Friars to be mended in 1485 (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surtees Soc.), p. 88); there were skilled workmen among the Greenwich Observants (*Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ii. 1473, viii. 837). Moir Bryce has collected some interesting instances among the friars in Scotland (*The Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 471-77).

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gave him his tunic, and sent him back to England gladdened with a most sweet blessing.”¹ Martin de Barton, who was present at the famous “Chapter of Mats” in 1217, also enjoyed the friendship of St. Francis,² and later Peter of Tewkesbury and Warren of Sedenefeld³ were associated with Brother Leo, and could bear witness to the tradition of the primitive days.

But even in primitive days we see diversity of views.⁴ All Franciscans agreed that they might not own property, either individually or in common, and all agreed that they must have the “use” of things. But the practical question, how many and what things they should have the use of, divided the Order into two main groups—the advocates (to adopt a later terminology) of the “*usus laxus*,”⁵ whose ideal was, as a “discreet” and sarcastic brother put it, “poverty without penury,”⁶ and the advocates of the “*usus pauper*,” who maintained that the friars were bound to live a life of real poverty and hardship.

¹ Eccleston, p. 7.

² Eccleston, pp. 39-40.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 93, 94.

⁴ This is clear from the Testament of St. Francis, and from such passages as the chapter “*Quod reputabat furtum acquirere eleemosynas vel uti eis ultra necessitatem*” (*Spec. Perf.* ed. Sabatier, cap. 12).

⁵ *A.L.K.G.* iii. 132, 155, 166, cf. 143, 153. Nicholas III. (“*Exiit qui seminat*”) allowed “*usus moderatus*.” This is often regarded as equivalent to “*usus pauper*” (*A.L.K.G.* iii. 132, 134-36).

⁶ Eccleston, p. 131 ; cf. Ubertino de Casale, “*fratres . . . satis erant et sunt prompti ad abiciendum penuriam paupertatis*” (*A.L.K.G.* iii. 83).

Certainly at first the friars in England revelled in poverty with a zest which may well have cheered the heart of St. Francis in his last sad years. One does not wonder that he gave Brother Lawrence his tunic and sent him back with a most sweet blessing. We hear of them at Canterbury, Salisbury, Shrewsbury drinking joyfully dregs of beer mixed with water: at London lacking bread, and lying close together, "as is the manner of pigs," to keep a sick brother warm, having no other means of doing so. Eccleston's pages abound with examples of cheerful self-sacrifice and glad renunciation of bodily comforts.¹

The rapidity with which the Order spread shows how strongly the imitation of Christ and His apostles appealed to the sympathy of the people. The first friars, a group of nine, four clerks and five laymen (only three of whom appear to have been English), reached Dover on September 10, 1224. By 1230, sixteen houses of Franciscans were established in England, namely, at Canterbury, London, Oxford, Northampton, Norwich, Worcester, Hereford, Salisbury, Nottingham, Leicester, Lincoln, Cambridge, Stamford, King's Lynn, Bristol, and Gloucester.² About twenty more were added in the next ten years. After that the rate of increase slackened. Eccleston notes that in 1256 there were

¹ Eccleston, pp. 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, etc.

² See Eccleston (Appendix IV.), pp. 149-154.

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forty-nine houses of Friars Minor in the English Province,¹ which at this time included Scotland.

There was generally no difficulty about obtaining a site. The only difficulty was that the friars refused to receive property, and an escape from this was soon found. "At Canterbury the lord Alexander, Master of the hospital of poor priests, gave them a site and built them a chapel, fairly suitable at the time, and as the friars would receive nothing as their own, it was made the property of the community of the city, but lent to the friars at the will of the citizens."² This became the regular procedure in England—the town acted as trustee, and held the land and houses for the use of the friars. The parcels which made up the site of the friary in London were either granted by individuals to the community of the city for the use of the friars, or directly bought by the community for the same use.³ In Oxford, Richard the Miller gave his house to the community of the town to lodge

¹ Eccleston, p. 14. In 1300 there were fifty-four Franciscan houses in England (including Berwick), four in Scotland (excluding Berwick). In the fourteenth century four more were founded in England (Walsingham, Ware, Plymouth, Aylesbury), two in Scotland (Lanark, Inverkeithing). Two English houses, Durham and Romney, founded c. 1239 and 1241, had a very short life.

² Eccleston, p. 25. This is the first instance mentioned by Eccleston, but it was probably not the first in time.

³ Eccleston, p. 26; Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, vi.), pp. 145-157. The formula "dedit communitati civitatis," etc., is changed in 1328 to "dedit fratribus minoribus," p. 157.

the Friars Minor for ever, and the good men of Oxford subscribed forty-three marks to purchase the house of William, son of Richard de Wileford, which was then assigned to the mayor and good men of Oxford for the same purpose.¹ A similar procedure is recorded of the foundation of the friaries at Cambridge, Lincoln, Ipswich, Gloucester.² At Bristol the spring of water which supplied the Grey Friars was given by Joan, widow of John de Lediard, to Edward I. for the use of the friars.³ In royal foundations, as at Shrewsbury, the king granted land direct to the friars ("ad opus eorundem"),⁴ presumably retaining the ownership himself; and this practice was observed by some private benefactors. The case of Northampton shows that it was not a mere legal fiction. Here at first the friars were lodged by the lord Richard Gobium, knt., outside the east gate, on his hereditary property near the church of St. Edmund, where soon after his son John received the habit. "His parents being angry at this, the said lord ordered the friars to go and give up their area. . . . The friars thereupon prepared to leave, the said lord

¹ Eccleston, pp. 27-28; Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 13, 295. (The date of this deed must be 1230-31: see *Cartulary of Hosp. of St. John the Baptist* (ed. Salter), i. 23-4, 26-7.)

² Eccleston, p. 27, and documents in Appendix to Eccleston, pp. 168-70.

³ Weare, *The Friars Minors of Bristol* (1893), p. 51.

⁴ Eccleston, pp. 28-29; Liberate Rolls, 30 Hen. III. m. 25, 18, 3; 31 Hen. III. m. 4.

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standing at the gate awaiting their departure. They came in procession, two by two, the end being brought up by a weak old man carrying a psalter in his hand. Seeing their simplicity and humility, and pricked by divine inspiration, the lord Gobiun burst into tears, and begged them earnestly to spare him and return; which they did. After this he was as a father to the brethren. Later on (1236-39) the citizens of the town brought them into the town and placed them where they now are.”¹ At Reading, on the other hand, in 1233, the friars sought to acquire a quasi-legal right to their holding from the abbot and monks, and they obtained apostolic and royal letters to compel the abbot against his will to grant them a perpetual site in Reading. The charter granted by the monks contained this clause: “We have granted for ourselves and our successors that if we at any time wish to expel the Friars Minor from their habitation for other than the causes mentioned above, the king and his heirs may freely and fully establish them there, so that they may have, by royal favour what they had hitherto had by our favour.” Albert of Pisa, provincial minister 1236-38, most fervently resisted this clause, and offered to remove the friars if the monks wished it.²

A case reported in the Year Books occurred

¹ Eccleston, pp. 29-30.

² *Ibid.* pp. 99-100, 171-72.

about 1310 in connexion with the Oxford Franciscans, which throws some light on the legal position. Alice, widow of Christopher, son of Simon Bennet of Oxford, demanded against the guardian of the Friars Minor of Oxford the third part of two messuages and three cottages, with appurtenances, in St. Ebbe's, near the Friars' Schools, as her dower. The guardian, by his attorney, said he had not fee nor freehold in the property, but only use and easement by grant of Edmund, late Earl of Cornwall, who bought the property from the said Christopher, and gave to the Friars Minor the full use and easement thereof on behalf of himself and his heirs. "And therefore the guardian says he has, and claims nothing in the said tenements save at the will of the king, cousin and heir of the said Edmund."¹ Further proceedings are not preserved. The legal status of the friars was that of a villein holding at the will of his lord.

At the Dissolution the heirs of the founders did not venture to press their rights to friary lands against the king, though the question was discussed.² The method of "voluntary surrenders," by which the friars gave up their possessions to the king, assumes that the property was vested in the friars of each convent. According

¹ *Selden Soc. Year Books*, Ed. II., 1308-10, p. 75.

² See *e.g.*, *L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, vol. xiii., ii., No. 1059; and the case of the Duke of Norfolk at Norwich, *ibid.* No. 365.

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to Franciscan theory, based on a long series of papal declarations from Gregory IX. onwards, the property in lands and houses held by the friars, unless it was expressly reserved to the founder and his heirs, was vested in the Holy See. Though English Franciscans (such as Pecham), in their writings on poverty, mention this privilege, there is no record of any Franciscan house in England making use of it.

It does not appear that the friars were guided by any general principle in their selection of sites, except that they chose the larger towns (with few exceptions) as their homes, beginning with Canterbury, London, and Oxford, the capitals of the church, commerce, and learning. Within each town they accepted such sites as were offered them. In a close-packed mediaeval town there was nothing equivalent to the distinction between East End and West End. Thus it is not true to say, as Brewer says, that "they made choice of the low, swampy, and undrained spots in the large towns, among the poorest and most neglected quarters," or that they settled "among the ungilded population who resided in the suburbs."¹ As a rule, the early Franciscan houses were situated *within* the city walls, often abutting on the walls. It was later, when they felt the need of more spacious buildings, that they extended into the suburbs, or

¹ *Mon. Franc.* i. p. xvii.

obtained a new site outside the walls. Only in two cases does the process seem to have been reversed; Northampton and Reading are the only instances of Franciscan houses in England having been moved from the suburbs into the town.

It is, however, true that many of their sites were undesirable; the friars obtained them, not because they preferred a poverty-stricken neighbourhood (in a mediaeval town all the districts were poor and all close together), but because they were cheaper and less in demand—a serious consideration when they were bought by public subscription.¹ Grosseteste evidently had definite instances in his mind when he warned the friars against low-lying sites. Many proved damp and liable to floods, such as Reading, Worcester, Lincoln, Oxford, Boston.² We hardly need the evidence of the frequent complaints in the royal and municipal records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to prove that Stinking Lane, near the Shambles of Newgate, where the London Grey Friary stood, was an undesirable residential quarter: yet it appears that “prelates and noblemen,” among others, had houses there.³ Conditions seem to have been

¹ Eccleston, p. 117.

² Peckham's *Register* (R.S.), p. 911; *Annales Monast.* (R.S.) iv. 537; Pat. 28 Edw. III., pt. i. m. 12.

³ Riley, *Mem. of London*, pp. 339, 358; Sharpe, *Cal. of Letter Books*, Letter Book G, pp. 31-32, 288.

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improved in the middle of the fifteenth century,¹ but it does not appear whether the friars had any share in bringing about the improvement.

In Cambridge the friars found their house (an old synagogue given them by the burgesses) intolerable because it was next the gaol (formerly the house of Benjamin the Jew), and there was only one entrance for them and the gaolers. They therefore obtained from the king the grant of the gaol, and incorporated it in the friary.²

At Exeter their first site proved insanitary; this was a small area lying within the walls between the north and west gates, granted before 1240, and subsequently enlarged. In 1285 Edward I. and his queen kept Christmas at Exeter, and the Earl of Hereford lodged in the Franciscan convent. On the king inquiring as to his accommodation, the earl said it was detestable; the stench of the place was insupportable; within two years nine of the brethren had died, and he concluded by urging the king to insist on the bishop providing a better situation for the friary.³ About the same time the friars petitioned the king for licence to enclose part of a road lying to the south and

¹ Cf. Mrs. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, ii. 32.

² Eccleston, pp. 28, 167.

³ Oliver, *Monast. Dioc. Exon.* pp. 330-31, from an entry inserted in the Register of St. John's Hospital. (This register, after being lost for many years, has recently been restored to the Exeter City Muniments.)

east of their court : " Men rarely pass by that place on account of the stench there ; for there is in the said area a sort of cesspool of the whole neighbouring street, and the space between the road and the Friary Church is, I believe, only five feet." ¹ They obtained permission to enclose this part of the road.² But, meantime, negotiations for a more suitable site were being conducted by John Gervys, citizen of Exeter, who in 1291–92 secured for them a number of plots, measuring in all $6\frac{1}{4}$ acres, outside the south gate, to which they soon migrated.³

At York in 1380 the king ordered that the Friars Minor should not be annoyed henceforth by butchers and others throwing filth and offal into the Ouse and the lanes and places near their house, where he and his grandfather were wont to lodge when in York.⁴

These instances will illustrate the undesirable features of some of the friary sites, and the efforts made by the friars to improve or escape from them. In one respect their efforts to improve sanitary conditions frequently redounded to the advantage, not only of themselves, but of their neighbours—their efforts, namely, to obtain good water-supplies. The provision of water-supplies

¹ P.R.O. Anc. Petitions, 15428.

² Exeter City Muniments, Nos. 698, 701, 702.

³ Inq. ad q. damnum (P.R.O.), xvii. 4, xviii. 10 ; Peckham's *Register*, 983 ; Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii. 175.

⁴ Pat. 4 Ric. II. pt. i. m. 39.

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was a new thing in the English towns in the thirteenth century; mediaeval London did not have an aqueduct till 1237.¹ The need must have been especially felt in the large communities crowded together in the friars' houses. The conduit for the Grey Friars of London was due to Friar William de Basynges, who induced William Taylor, the tailor of Henry III., to furnish the initial expenses, and obtained donations from many nobles and citizens, the king himself contributing 14½ marks in 1255-56.² The water-supply of the Grey Friars of Oxford seems also to have been due to the suggestion of a friar. When in 1280 (?) Edward I. consulted the provincial minister, Robert de Cruce, as to the most suitable application of an alms to the Friars Minor which the king had to dispose of, the provincial informed him "that our brethren at Oxford suffer grievously from the want of an aqueduct. For the water of the well which we draw daily, and which we mix every day with our food, and sometimes drink on penitential days, and (what is a more serious consideration) which we mix with the wine of the Sacrament, is very corrupt. If, therefore, it should please your lordship to assign the said alms to make good these defects, I do not think a use more pleasing to God could be found."³

¹ *Cal. of Letter Books of the City of London*, Letter Book A, p. 14.

² Kingsford, *Grey Friars in London*, pp. 48-51, 158.

³ P.R.O. Anc. Corresp. xvi. 90. See Appendix.

Elsewhere the towns profited directly by the enterprise of the friars. Thus the burgesses of Scarborough, in or before 1283, granted a spring at Gildhuscliff, on Falsgrave Moor, to Robert of Scarborough, Dean of York, that he might make, at his own expense, a conduit for the benefit of the Friars Minor and the borough. The scheme had not been carried out when the dean died in 1290, but he left to the friars 100 marks in his will for this purpose. To pay the legacy, his executor, Sir John Ughtred, called in a debt owing from the Abbot of Meaux, and the monks found it necessary to strip the lead from the dormitory of their lay brethren and give it to the friars in lieu of 78 marks which they had failed to pay. "With this lead," says the Meaux Chronicler, "their church, or the greater part of it, is said to have been covered." Possibly it was used for the pipes of the conduit, which was not actually made before 1319.¹ At Newcastle-on-Tyne the friars had, by royal grant, a conduit of water running from a well called "Sevenhed Welles" to their house, "and because the spring was so abundant that there was enough for the men of the commonalty of the town and themselves, they permitted these men, at their request, to make another conduit from the same source." The commonalty, however,

¹ *Chron. de Melsa* (R.S.), ii. 237; Pat. 13 Ed. II. m. 44; Hinderwell, *Hist. and Antiq. of Scarborough*, p. 86.

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abused the friars' kindness, and had to be restrained from interfering with their conduit in 1341.¹ At Southampton the friars' water-supply, granted by Nicholas de Barbeflet in 1290, was taken over by the town in 1421.² At Richmond the friars' conduit was the only water-supply in the town in Leland's time.³ At Coventry, Dr. John London wrote in 1538, the conduit of the Grey Friars was better than that of the town, and "much of the city shall lack water if they do not purchase it of the king."⁴ At Lincoln the supply of fresh water to the city used till recent times was due to the Grey Friars.⁵ At Bristol the conduit, which was arranged with great skill, was bought by the city, and, after running for more than six centuries, is the present source of the supply of the All Saints conduit.⁶

The friars then, we see, took some steps to improve their holdings and (incidentally) to benefit their neighbours. To what extent (if any) did they at any time rely on the produce of their land or on rents for their maintenance?

¹ Pat. 15 Ed. III. pt. iii. m. 4; 18 Ed. III. pt. ii. m. 20d.; 19 Ed. III. pt. i. m. 26d.

² P.R.O. Inq. a. q. d. xiii. 11; cxc. 2; Pat. 1 Ed. III. pt. i. m. 33; Davies, *Hist. of Southampton*, p. 115. V.C.H. *Hampshire*, vol. ii. and vol. v. p. 486.

³ Leland, *Itinerary* (ed. L. Toulmin Smith), iv. 25.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, xiii. ii. No. 674.

⁵ *Linc. Notes and Queries*, vii. 195.

⁶ Weare, *Friars Minors of Bristol*, pp. 32, 47 seq.

The policy of the first minister, Agnellus, was clear and stern. "Such was his zeal for poverty, that he would scarcely permit any ground to be enlarged or houses to be built unless unavoidable necessity compelled it."¹ Thus he insisted on the friars of Gloucester giving back part of the site granted them, and this was only recovered a few years later, "with great difficulty from Sir Thomas de Berkeley through the wisdom and devotion of his wife."² On this occasion of the enlargement of the Gloucester house (1239), Haymo of Faversham, then provincial minister, made a declaration which may be regarded as marking a change, or at any rate a modification, of the policy hitherto pursued. "He said that he would rather that the brethren should have ample areas and cultivate them, in order that they might have food-stuffs at home, than that they should beg them from others."³ The site of an English friary generally—probably always—included a garden and orchard. This is evident from the Dissolution documents, our chief source of information on the economy of the friaries. Even the austere Observants of Greenwich had an orchard and garden, and Henry VII. gave 20s. as reward "to him that laboureth in the friars' garden of Greenwich."⁴ There is very little information as to the cultivation, and we

¹ Eccleston, p. 55. ² *Ibid.* pp. 56, 170. ³ *Ibid.* pp. 55-6.

⁴ Hasted, *Kent, Hundred of Blackheath*, ed. Drake, p. 57, n. 2.

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do not know whether the advice of St. Francis was followed to devote some of the space to "our sisters the flowers."¹ The produce at Gloucester seems to have included "bees, corn, teazles ('tasylys'), onions, and apples."² At Shrewsbury there is mention of "the walnoott orcharde."³ Some houses possessed arable land, many had a few acres of pasture, and fish-ponds are occasionally mentioned, and carts and horses. The Grey Friars of Hereford had a cart and horse, and seem to have grown hay and corn, though they are noted as possessing "no rents but their gardens."⁴ Llanfaes friary was left high and dry in the country, the inhabitants having removed to Beaumaris. Here the friars grew corn, kept sheep, and had a pack-horse.⁵ At Bedford the friars, who had "long used husbandry," had a cart and horses and some 20 acres of pasture, some of which was valued at the high figure of nearly 7s. an acre per annum.⁶

It is sometimes difficult or impossible to estimate accurately the amount of land held by a friary. Details are often unavailable, and sometimes, if given, inconsistent with each other. Thus the site of the Grey Friars in the suburbs of

¹ Cf. II. Celano, § 165 (ed. Ed. Alençon, p. 294); *Spec. Perf.* (ed. Sabatier) 232.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. i. No. 1109.

³ P.R.O. Ministers' Accts. 7444, m. 29.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. ii. No. 184.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 138.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 526; *Valor Eccles.* iv. 190.

Exeter (their first site within the wall must have been quite small) is estimated in 1292 as $6\frac{1}{4}$ acres, in 1341—though apparently nothing more had been added—as 13 acres, while after the Dissolution it was let for 40s. a year.¹ Probably $6\frac{1}{4}$ acres is near the mark. The site of the Grey Friars of Northampton was valued at 7s. 4d. in 1535, but was let at £1:8:2 per annum in 1540, while in 1544 the annual value was estimated at 16s. 8d.² When in 1534 Lord Lisle authorized the collection of alms in Calais for the Grey Friars of Canterbury “because they have no lands or rents,”³ he probably meant that they did not possess landed estates like a Benedictine monastery; for this house (which for some thirty years was an Observant house) held in 1538, besides the actual site, 2 messuages, 2 orchards, 2 gardens, 3 acres of land, 5 of meadow, and 4 of pasture.⁴

However, there are considerable materials available in the Ministers' Accounts after the Dissolution, and from these it will be seen that the areas varied greatly. Babwell seems to have had the largest area— $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of pasture, $13\frac{1}{2}$ of meadow, 23 of arable, besides the site—in all over 43 acres.⁵ Llanfaes, one of the smallest

¹ P.R.O. Inq. a. q. d. xvii. 4, xviii. 10; Pat. 15 Ed. III. pt. ii. m. 21. P.R.O. Part. for Grants, file 304.

² Serjeantson, *Greyfriars of Northampton* (1911), p. 16.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 1620.

⁴ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 1756.

⁵ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 3440.

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friaries, probably held not less than 30 acres of arable and pasture.¹ Preston held about 20 acres, besides a windmill, a watermill, and a turbary, called "le pete mosse," in Penwortham.² These are at one end of the scale. At the other we have Shrewsbury with 3 or 4 acres;³ Lincoln with 4;⁴ Newcastle-on-Tyne, 3½;⁵ Grimsby, 3;⁶ Chester, "no rents but their gardens";⁷ Ipswich with bare site and a garden or two;⁸ Coventry with little more than an acre;⁹ Southampton had 2 acres 37 perches, and the Observant Friars of Southampton, 1 acre and a "washing yard."¹⁰ The Oxford house had 8 or 9 acres, a good deal of it marshy land; the London house not more than 4 acres.¹¹

None of these areas can be regarded as excessive, and it will be noticed that it was not the famous houses in the large towns that possessed the largest areas, but those situated in the smaller towns, or in the country, where voluntary alms were naturally less abundant.

We will next consider what evidence there is of Franciscan houses in England holding lands or

¹ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 5566.

² *Ibid.* 7304.

³ *Ibid.* 7444.

⁴ *Ibid.* 2019.

⁵ *Ibid.* 7357.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2019.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. i. No. 1298; P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 7384.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. i. No. 651; P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 3440.

⁹ Mins. Accts. 7311; cf. *Valor Eccles.* iii. 57.

¹⁰ Mins. Accts. 7407.

¹¹ See plan in Kingsford's *Grey Friars of London*.

houses, or receiving rents from lands or houses, which did not form part of the site of the friary.

At Dunwich and Exeter the friars continued to hold their first site after they had removed to more commodious quarters, and to let them on lease, in the former case for 2s. a year, in the latter for 14s. a year.¹ The friars of Exeter also received 6s. 8d. yearly rent from Cricklepit Mill for the soul of Walter Gerveys, till 1307, when they surrendered it to the city.² Walter Gerveys was mayor from 1231 to 1239, so this constitutes a very early instance of a perpetual endowment of an obit. Several other houses in the custody of Bristol were in possession of lands or rents outside their area. The friars of Cardiff had half a burgage, those of Carmarthen one burgage, both being let to tenants before the Dissolution.³ The friars of Bodmin received £2 : 16 : 8 a year from lands, a tenement, and a "shopp" called "lez Gateshowse," besides £6 : 3 : 4 from the lands of three persons, probably for obits.⁴ The friars of Dorchester do not seem to have come into possession of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, granted to them in 1483 by Richard III.,⁵ but they held seven tenements in the town at the

¹ V.C.H. *Suffolk*, ii.; Oliver, *Monast. Dioc. Exon.* 333-34; Exeter City Muniments, Misc. Deeds, 201, 865, 1233, etc.

² Exeter City Muniments, 801.

³ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 5595.

⁴ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 7300.

⁵ Harl. MS. 433, f. 131. The king also gave them 80s. a year from three manors in 1483 (*ibid.* fol. 164).

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Dissolution, besides the Byconil Mills (granted them in 1485, partly for educational purposes), and were in receipt of £2 : 3 : 4 a year from lands granted them by Sir Roger of Newborough, knt., and William Abbot of Milton, between 1481 and 1525.¹

Most of the other instances come from the custody of York. Here the earliest case of a landed endowment that can be traced is found at Scarborough about 1300. Sir John Ughtred about this time gave to the Grey Friars an annual rent of 20s. out of his two tenements in Scarborough, "to find two great wax candles burning daily at the elevation of the Host in the choir of the said brethren, and to find oil in a lamp burning before the Host in the same choir, and bread and wine for celebration in the church and choir, with power for the bailiff of Scarborough to distrain for the rent if unpaid."² At the Dissolution the friars here held (besides the site, gardens, and orchards, occupying about 3 acres) nine cottages, a tavern, a barn, and some plots of ground in and outside of Scarborough. Each cottage paid from 5s. to 2s. a year rent; for the tavern a widow paid 6d. a year.³

The Grey Friars of Beverley were in 1538 in receipt of 60s. a year rent from houses and lands in Beswick (some six miles from Beverley), 7s. 6d.

¹ V.C.H. *Dorset*, ii. 93-5, 102.

² Pat. 9 Ed. II. pt. i. m. 21. ³ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 4571.

a year from land in Lund, and 12s. from tenements in the town.¹ All these were endowments of family chantries, most of them being of quite recent origin in the sixteenth century. Doncaster was in receipt of 29s. 6d. annual rent, derived from land in Beighton (Derbyshire), granted by Thomas Beverley to several trustees for the use of the friars in 1524.²

The site of the Grey Friars of York occupied only 1 acre ; but the friars received rents amounting to some £12 a year from houses and lands not only in the city, but from many outlying places : Snaith, Endsall, Egborough, Wakefield, Doncaster, Rawcliffe, and elsewhere.³ Some of these lands formed the endowment of the "Roccliff Mass," a chantry founded by Brian Roccliff of Colthorpe, Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1495. Others were probably connected with the "Marshall Mass," a similar foundation dating from 1524.⁴

Such permanent landed endowments as one finds mentioned in the Dissolution documents in connexion with the English Franciscans are small in amount, of recent origin, confined to a few houses, and devoted to special services.

There is another class of permanent endowments⁵ to be considered—those derived from

¹ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 4571.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Test. Ebor.* iv. 102-3, v. 192-93.

⁵ These would all be classed as "perpetual alms." The reception of perpetual alms and the enforcement of the payment of

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other sources than land. Three friaries, Oxford, Cambridge, and Berwick, were in receipt of annual grants from the Exchequer. The grant of 25 marks a year to Cambridge dated from the reign of Henry III. : Edward I. granted 50 marks (£33 : 6 : 8) a year to Oxford.¹ The grant of 20 marks a year to Berwick, made first by the Scottish kings at the end of the thirteenth century, seems to have been discontinued after 1367.² The grants to the University friaries, though often in arrear, were paid till the Dissolution.

In 1345 the friars of Hartlepool successfully claimed a yearly sum of £5 : 4s. of the issues of the town oven, of the grant of one Robert de Brus.³ The Friars Minor of Bristol received a moiety of the prisage of all fish, salt and fresh, brought into Bristol, from the reign of Edward II. ; this was valued in 1538 at 20s. a year.⁴ Another royal gift was that of fifty-two cartloads of underwood a year to the Grey Friars of Colchester,

them in the law courts were forbidden by the General Chapter of 1260, and in the General Constitutions of 1292, 1316, 1331, 1354 ; see *Bonav. Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi), viii. 466 ; *A.L.K.G.* vi. 95 ; *Arch. Fr. Hist.* ii. 418, iv. 281, vii. 59-60 ; *Bull. Franc.* vi. 641.

¹ *Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 97-8.

² Close 11 Ed. III. pt. i. m. 12 ; cf. *Doc. illustr. of Hist. of Scotland*, ii. Nos. 484, 485, 486. *Lanercost Chron.* pp. 185-87 ; Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 20-21.

³ Close 19 Ed. III. pt. i. m. 24.

⁴ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 7407 ; Weare, *Friars Minors of Bristol*, p. 53.

made by Edward IV. in 1469 for the celebration of obits ; this continued to be received till the Dissolution.¹

Perpetual alms from private sources were fairly numerous. Thus the Oxford friary received from the parish of St. Ebbe's 6d. a year; from Durham College, 10s. a year; from Osney Abbey, 5s. a year (the price of one quarter of an ox) and 4d. a week; from Godstowe Nunnery, fourteen loaves every fortnight for the soul of Roger Writtell (this dating from the end of the thirteenth century), and 3s. 4d. in money and one peck of oatmeal and one of peas in Lent.² To the friars of Grantham John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, supplied 32½ quarters of corn from his mills in Grantham annually from 1304, the alms being confirmed by his successor in 1313.³ The same earl granted by charter a rent of one quarter of wheat every week to the Grey Friars of Lewes.⁴ The lords of Berkeley used to give several quarters of wheat annually, as well as wine, when they received shiploads from abroad, to the Grey Friars of Gloucester.⁵ The Grey Friars of Boston were in receipt of 8 quarters of wheat every year by old custom from the lords

¹ V.C.H. *Essex* ii.; Mins. Accts. 963.

² *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 100; *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii. 18.

³ Pat. 11 Ed. II. pt. i. m. 8; Close 19 Ed. II. m. 11.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls*, Ed. I. v. 249.

⁵ Dugdale, *Monast.* vi. p. 1511.

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of Richmond (valued in 1534 at 32s. a year).¹ William Canynges in 1465 provided for the supply of one quarter of an ox, four quarters of a good sheep, and 40d. for bread and ale to the Grey Friars of Bristol every year for ever.² H. Hatch left 15s. a year to the Observant Friars of Canterbury in 1533.³ It does not appear that the English Franciscans were in receipt of many such yearly payments in money. At the time of the Dissolution the anniversaries or perpetual obits at the Black Friars of London were valued at £55 : 6 : 8 a year :⁴ at the Grey Friars only two are noted, valued at £7 : 10s. a year—namely, one of £4 for the obit of Stephen Genyns, knt., payable by the Tailors Company, and one of £3 : 10s. for the obit of Hugh Acton, payable by the Drapers Company.⁵ Gifts or legacies for the celebration of obits were generally limited to a specified period, or a lump sum was paid for the celebration of masses in perpetuity. Thus towards the end of the thirteenth century John of Barrow, chaplain, assigned £33 : 10s. to the Friars Minor of Chester to find a chaplain to celebrate divine service there for his soul for ever, and to acquit the friars' debts.⁶ In 1458

¹ R. Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, p. 113.

² Weare, *Friars Minors of Bristol*, p. 61.

³ N. H. Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* p. 662.

⁴ P.R.O. Ministers' Accts. 2396.

⁵ *Ibid.* In addition there was a sum of £3 : 6 : 8 paid by the Abbot of Westminster for the anniversary of Henry VII., now cancelled.

⁶ Close 22 Ed. I. m. 3 (12 Oct. 1294).

William Cantelowe, alderman of London, gave to the Grey Friars of London £200 for the repair of their church "and other necessities"; in return for which the convent engaged to celebrate a daily mass for the souls of various persons for ever.¹ Gifts of this kind would not infringe the constitution against the reception of perpetual alms, and perhaps would not be less profitable to the friars. But the result was that the fixed annual income on which a friary could rely was small.

From the smallness of the lands held by the friars and from the smallness of their regular incomes from other sources, it may be inferred that they depended for their livelihood mainly on voluntary and casual alms (including legacies), and this inference is supported by evidence of the straits to which the friars were reduced whenever for any reason the supply of alms was cut off or diminished.²

Alms were sometimes in kind, sometimes—perhaps more often—in money. The stringent prohibition in the Rule against the acceptance of money, "either by themselves or through an intermediary," brought the friars, as soon as their numbers became great, and they adopted a more settled way of life, into difficulties from

¹ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, pp. 208-211.

² *E.g.*, in London during the agitation against the Jews in 1257; at Oxford during the Long Vacation; and before the Dissolution, *passim*.

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which there was no escape except by a papal ruling. A deputation was appointed by the General Chapter of 1230 to ask Gregory IX., among other things, "Whether they dare, without offence to the Rule, present to any God-fearing persons some trustees ('fideles'), through whom they (*i.e.* the God-fearing persons) may help the necessities of the friars, and whether the friars may have recourse with a good conscience to those trustees when they know they have received coins or money; which money or coins the friars do not intend to have kept by their own authority or to demand as a deposit from the trustees." To this the pope replied: "If the friars wish to buy anything necessary, or to pay for something already bought, they can present either the representative ('nuncius') of the vendor or any one else to their would-be benefactors (unless the latter prefer to act personally or through their own representatives), and the person so presented by the friars is not *their* representative, though presented by them, but rather the representative of him by whose command he makes the payment, or of him who receives the payment. The same representative is bound to pay at once, so that none of the money remain in his possession. But if he is presented (or employed as agent) for other urgent necessities, he can, like an owner, deposit the alms entrusted to him with a spiritual friend

of the friars, to be expended by him for such needs of the friars at a place and time as shall seem expedient. To him the friars shall be able to have recourse for such needs, especially if he is negligent or ignorant of their needs.”¹ By the pope’s reply provision was made for two cases in which money might be used: (1) for a single payment for some definite object through a third person; (2) for a store of money in the hands of a “spiritual friend,” to be used for urgent necessities.

In 1245 (November 14)² Innocent IV. made a great extension of this permission. The friars were authorized to use money in this way not only for a “rem necessariam,” but also for a “rem utilem,” and not only “pro necessitatibus imminentibus,” but “pro necessitatibus commodis.” And by a bull of August 19, 1247,³ the spiritual friends become legal representatives or business agents, with power “to ask for, sell, exchange, alienate, manage, and spend any things given, or to be given for the use of the friars, for their necessities or advantages,” such persons being entirely under the control of the friars. Against this relaxation the English and Irish provinces, through their ministers William of Nottingham and John de Kethene, successfully

¹ “Quo elongati,” *Bull. Franc.* i. 68.

² “Ordinem vestrum,” *Bull. Franc.* i. 400.

³ “Quanto studiosius,” *Bull. Franc.* i. 487.

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protested in the General Chapter of Genoa in 1249 or 1251 : " In the face of almost the whole Chapter they carried their point that the privilege granted by the pope about receiving money through proctors should be entirely annulled, and that the exposition of the Rule by Pope Innocent, in so far as it was laxer than that by Pope Gregory, should be suspended." ¹ The suspension was renewed in the Chapter of Metz, 1254 ² (when both William of Nottingham and John de Kethene were " absolved "), and though in 1257 Alexander IV. reissued Innocent's bull of 1245, ³ the Chapter of Narbonne in 1260 decreed : " The declaration of Innocent IV. shall remain suspended as was decided in the Chapter of Metz ; and we strictly forbid any one to use it in those points in which it contradicts the declaration of Pope Gregory." ⁴

The writings of Bonaventura ⁵ and the General Constitutions of 1260 ⁶ represent an attempt to get back to the declaration of Gregory, and the Decretal of Nicholas III., *Exiit qui seminat* (1279), embodies Bonaventura's ideas. ⁷ The

¹ Eccleston, p. 52.

² A.L.K.G. vi. 34.

³ Bull. Franc. ii. 196.

⁴ A.L.K.G. vi. 34.

⁵ Namely, *Apologia pauperum*, *Epistola de tribus quaestionibus ad magistrum innominatum*, *Determinationes Quaestionum circa Regulam Fratrum Minorum*, *Expositio super Regulam Fratrum Minorum*, *Epistolae Officiales Epist. I.*, all printed in vol. viii. of the Quaracchi edition, and *Quaestio de paupertate* (against William of St. Amour) in vol. v.

⁶ A.L.K.G. vi. 87-138.

⁷ Bull. Franc. iii. 404. Cf. Balthasar, *Geschichte des Armutsstreites im Franziskanerorden*, p. 82.

reception of money by the friars is forbidden ; they may not have collecting boxes in their churches¹ or elsewhere ; a friar may not carry money from place to place or employ a secular servant to carry it for him. But money may be received by the “*amici spirituales*” or proctors, and expended for the use of the friars ; until it is converted into articles for their use—buildings, books, clothes, food, etc.—it belongs to the giver, and may be recalled by him, nor can the friars sue at law the proctors for the money. Debts are regarded as inevitable in certain cases, *e.g.* when alms fail, or for building (but no house should be established in a place where the brethren cannot live without something of the nature of permanent endowment). The friars, however, cannot bind themselves to repay debts, though they may and ought to encourage their well-wishers to repay them.

Bonaventura had to admit that poverty was not observed in the Order as it should be. Friars often did receive money, and actually touch it ; their begging had reached such a pitch that people were as much afraid to meet them as to meet highway robbers ;² costly buildings belied profession of poverty. The acquisition of rents and the employment of proctors to defend their

¹ As early as 1231 Gregory IX. recognized the friars' rights to “*oblaciones*” in their daily masses : see below, p. 101 : but the Decretal “*Nimis iniqua*” was not confined to the Franciscan friars.

² *Bonav. Opera Omnia*, viii. 468.

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rights in the law courts were a scandal in an Order whose boast it was that they could own nothing. This employment of proctors, hitherto a privilege granted to particular convents or provinces by the popes,¹ was made general by the bull of Martin IV., 1283, authorizing the ministers and custodians to appoint proctors, not belonging to the Order, to represent the friars in the law courts, especially to enforce the payment of legacies.² The Order had now at length adopted the Innocentian relaxations, against which William of Nottingham had successfully protested. As the proctors were entirely dependent on the friars, the formality of acting through them was often disregarded in practice,³ and the Franciscans' claim to be the observers of evangelical poverty rested solely on the theory that the ownership of their goods, both real and personal ("omnium rerum mobilium et immobilium quibus fratres uti possunt"),⁴ was vested in the Apostolic See. It was only necessary for John XXII., by a stroke of the pen, to repudiate this ownership and forbid the employment of proctors acting in the name of

¹ Instances in Balthasar, pp. 44, 74-5.

² "Exultantes," *Bull. Franc.* iii. 501. Nicholas III. tried to find a compromise between the appointment of proctors by the Holy See and their appointment by the friars themselves in "nomination" by the friars and "institution" by the bishop of the diocese. See *Arch. Franc. Hist.* vii. 55-65, 549-51; *Regist. Ric. de Swinfield* (Canterbury and York Soc.), pp. 23-6.

³ Balthasar, *u.s.*, pp. 92, 96.

⁴ *Bull. Franc.* iii. 501.

the pope or the Roman Church,¹ to bring the question of the poverty of the Order down from the airy heights of legal fiction to the hard ground of fact. Let us consider the development in the English Province.

According to Eccleston, the ministers who had the widest experience of the Order—Albert of Pisa, John of Parma—praised the English Province above all other provinces, and held it up as an example to all.² An instance of the rejection of money occurs in Adam Marsh's letter to Giles le Rous, Archdeacon of Northampton, c. 1250 : "A messenger of your lordship has recently offered to me in your name a large sum of money : this I ought not and would not receive, as it would be inconsistent with the observance of my holy profession ; the messenger threw it down in our cell and refused altogether to take it back ; wherefore the bearer of these presents, at the request of the friars, has taken the said money just as it was, sealed with your seal, to restore it to you to dispose of as you like."³ On the other hand, the English friars early made use of the "interposita persona" or "amicus spiritualis" under the name of proctor. In 1232 the king exempted William le Cuteler de Hoiland, merchant of Oxford, from all tallages during his life, and a note is added to the Patent,

¹ "Ad conditorem," Dec. 8, 1322. *Bull. Franc.* v. 235.

² Eccleston, pp. 86, 89, 98-9, 123. ³ *Mon. Franciscana*, i. 195.

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“that this letter was granted at the petition of Friar Haimo of Faversham, friar minor, because the aforesaid William is proctor of the friars minor of Oxford.”¹

In 1246 Henry III. ordered the sheriff of Stafford and Salop to give £25 to the proctor of the Friars Minor of Shrewsbury to “acquit” a place bought for their use.² In 1281 we find three laymen nominated by the custodian of Bristol with licence of the provincial minister, and instituted by the Bishop of Hereford on behalf of the cardinal protector of the Order as proctors of the Friars Minor in the diocese, “to receive and spend for the needs of the friars money obtained from the sale of books and other moveables.”³ In 1282 the Friars Minor of Stafford complain of being maliciously impeded from buying, through their proctors and other friends, daily victuals when they need them for their own use.⁴

¹ Pat. 16, Hen. III. m. 7. Cf. *Jordani Chron.* (ed. Boehmer), p. 39, for an earlier instance; at Erfurt a proctor was “given by the burgesses” to the friars about 1225. Similarly, in 1266 the Friars Minor of Northampton obtained from the king “exemption of Simon le Mercer of Northampton from being put in tallages, aids or making of oaths, so long as he be in the service of the said friars” (Pat. 50, Hen. III. m. 13).

² Liberate R. 30 Hen. III. m. 18.

³ *Reg. Ric. de Swinfield* (Cant. and York Soc.), pp. 23-6. See above, p. 32, n. 2.

⁴ Pat. 10 Edw. I. m. 10. *Mon. Franc.* i. 623. The history of the proctor is obscure, and is further complicated by the existence of a friar-proctor or procurator in each convent: see General Constitutions of 1260: “Ministri custodes guardiani procuratores

But from the end of the century the friars seem often to have dispensed with the services of lay proctors, to have conducted their own business,¹ and to have received money with their own hands.²

The records of alms given by private persons to the Franciscans in the thirteenth century are not numerous enough to justify any generalizations. It is different, however, with the royal alms entered in the Public Records. Out of some 300 grants to the Friars Minor noted from the Liberate Rolls and Close Rolls of Henry III., considerably more than three-quarters are gifts in kind. The most frequent are gifts of wood for fuel, the next numerous are gifts of timber for building. Clothes and food are also given. Thus in 1233 the king orders the sheriffs of London to buy and give to the king's almoner 700 ells of cloth, half of "Blaunchet" and half of "griseng," for the use of the Friars Preachers and Minors of London, and 100 pairs of shoes

et alii officiales de collatis et expensis reddant debitam rationem, ita quod . . . guardianus et procurator semel infra 15 dies coram aliquibus discretis ad hoc a fratribus loci assignatis" (*A.L.K.G.* vi. 94). In this sense the proctor was the chief of the begging department of a convent for the time being. Cf. *Eccleston*, p. 15.

¹ Cf. *Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 92, 310.

² Yet even as late as 1399 John Thyngull, friar minor, thought it worth while to obtain a papal indult "to receive and carry, when away from his house, money given to him for the use of himself and his house, to convert the same to lawful uses, and cause it to be kept by anybody" (*Cal. Papal L.* v. 201).

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for the use of the Friars Preachers.¹ The sheriff of Berkshire is to buy in 1239, 52 ells of russet to make tunics for the use of thirteen Friars Minor of Reading.² Grants of clothes to the Friars Minor of Durham, to the Friars Minor of Romney, to the Nuns Minoreesses of Northampton are almost the only proofs of the existence of these short-lived communities.³ Lichfield, Hartlepool, Lewes, Chichester, Southampton are among the houses which profited by the royal bounty in this way ;⁴ and year by year the king supplied the Friars Minor of Winchester with winter clothing, and the Friars Preachers with winter clothing and shoes. The earliest Winchester instance noted occurred in 1239, the latest in 1261,⁵ showing that the English Minorites normally went without shoes during this period.

The grants of food are occasionally direct, *e.g.* the gift of 1000 herrings to the Friars Minor of Colchester (1260),⁶ but usually take the form of a payment to some public official for supplying food, *e.g.* in 1233 the king's almoner is to have 26s. 8d. for the expenses of feeding the Friars

¹ Lib. 17 Hen. III. m. 2.

² Lib. 23 Hen. III. m. 3.

³ Lib. 24 Hen. III. m. 2 ; 26 Hen. III. m. 15 ; 36 Hen. III. m. 2.

⁴ Lib. 25 Hen. III. m. 5, m. 23 ; 26 Hen. III. m. 18 ; 37 Hen. III. m. 1 ; 45 Hen. III. m. 6.

⁵ Lib. 23 Hen. III. m. 6 ; 24 Hen. III. m. 5 ; 25 Hen. III. m. 5, 26 Hen. III. m. 4, etc. ; 45 Hen. III. m. 7.

⁶ Close, 44 Hen. III. pt. ii. m. 3 (*Reliquary*, xvii. 76).

Preachers and Friars Minor of Oxford.¹ The sheriff of Yorkshire has orders to feed the Friars Minor of Scarborough one day a week (1240). The friars are classed with the poor in several cases, *e.g.* the bailiffs of Oxford receive 10 marks from the exchequer to feed 1000 poor people and the Friars Preachers and Friars Minor of Oxford (1244).² In 1257 provision is made for feeding the Friars Preachers of Wilton, the Friars Minor of Salisbury, and 100 poor people for the soul of Robert de Mares.³

On several occasions the king paid the expenses in connexion with the Provincial Chapter. Thus the entry in the Close Rolls for the Chapter of 1241 runs : ⁴ " For the Friars Minor. Order to William de Haverhill, Treasurer, to provide for the Friars Minor, who are to celebrate their Provincial Chapter at London the coming Whitsuntide, on the vigil of Whitsunday on behalf of the King, on Whitsunday on behalf of the Queen, and on the morrow of the feast on behalf of the King's children, taking care that on each of the three days they shall have three courses and wine, and further he is to supply them with a boatload of firewood of the King's gift ; and when the King knows the cost, he will cause him to have a writ of Liberate for it. Witness the King at Westminster, 20th April." This appears

¹ Lib. 17 Hen. III. m. 2.

² Lib. 29 Hen. III. m. 14.

³ Lib. 41 Hen. III. m. 12.

⁴ Close, 25 Hen. III.

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in the Liberate Rolls of May 7, 25 Hen. III., as a payment of £15 to the Friars Minor, "ad procuracionem trium dierum apud Lond' faciend'." The amount seems excessive. For chapters at Oxford in 1238 and Canterbury in 1240 the king paid 10 marks, for one at Stamford in 1239, £5,¹ while the cost of one day's necessities for the chapter at Gloucester (c. 1250), which Grosseteste offered to pay, was 23s.² However, £15 became later on a more or less regular charge on the Treasury for the Provincial Chapter of Friars Minor.

Alms in money were given sometimes apparently to the friars themselves (though not to an individual friar), sometimes to other persons on behalf of the friars. They were given almost always for a definite purpose, such as the expenses of a chapter, to pay for a site, for fuel, clothes, debts, or buildings. By far the most frequent object of such alms is building. The earliest instance is a gift of 20 marks to the custodians of the houses of the Friars Minor of Dublin in 1233 for the repair of their church and houses.³ In 1237 the king orders the treasurer to pay 80 marks to Roger de Lavinton, citizen of Winchester, or his representative, "for a place which we have bought from him in Winchester to the use of the Friars Minor there."⁴ Other money

¹ Lib. 22 Hen. III. m. 11 ; Close, 23-4, Hen. III. ; Lib. 23 Hen. III. m. 7.

² *Mon. Franc.* i. 242.

³ Lib. 17 Hen. III. m. 10.

⁴ Lib. 21 Hen. III. m. 5.

payments to the friars of Winchester were £10 in 1241, £5 in 1244, 20 marks for the building of their church in 1246, £20 for clothes and debts in 1259, 5 marks to buy ten oaks for building their infirmary, and £10 for winter clothes in 1261—all the sums being apparently paid direct to the friars.¹

During the reign of Edward I. a marked change occurs in the royal alms. Though grants in kind, especially of wood, are frequent, especially in the earlier part of the reign,² gifts of money are far more numerous, and the proportion of money gifts to those in kind is still more marked in the time of Edward II. and in the early years of Edward III. These gifts usually take the form of a present of 4d. a piece, “pro pitancia” or “pro putura,” to each friar in a convent on the occasion of the king’s passing through the town, and they are often made “by the hand” of some individual friar.³ Long after this the Minorites boasted, “We hondlen no money,” though they were not above counting it with a stick or with gloves on.⁴ Pecham, writing about 1274, will have nothing to do with this quibble,

¹ Lib. 25 Hen. III. m. 17; 28 Hen. III. m. 12; 30 Hen. III. m. 17; 43 Hen. III. m. 6; 45 Hen. III. m. 7, 13.

² Close Rolls, Edw. I.

³ Examples will be found in *Liber Quotidianus contrarotulatoris Garderobae*, 28 Ed. I., ed. Topham, 1787, pp. 25-43.

⁴ *Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede*, ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1867, l. 108; Matthew, *Unprinted English Works of Wyclif*, E.E.T.S., 1880, p. 49; *Polit. Poems* (R.S.), ii. 28; *Pecock’s Repressor* (R.S.), pp. 534-44.

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and roundly declares the friars are not forbidden to touch money, though it is better to avoid both the touch and the sight of it.¹

Details of the royal alms fail at the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, but from this period wills become more numerous, and here again the prevalence of legacies in money over legacies in kind is noticeable. Legacies in kind are indeed numerous, and include such things as a quarter of corn (the most usual), a fat ox, a brass pot, a chair for the master's chamber, a green bed, "my purple velvet gown to make them a vestment," books (occasionally), armour, horse and harness from knights buried in the church. Legacies in money vary from 20d. to £200 : they come from all classes, "merchants" and "citizens" being the most numerous, but the nobility and secular clergy² are very largely represented. The bequests generally involve an obligation on the part of the friars to pray for the soul of the benefactor, and are often assigned for a definite object—to erect a tomb or chapel, to repair church or dormitory, to build a cloister,

¹ Pecham, "De paupertate" (*Brit. Soc. Franc. Studies*, ii.), p. 40.

² Thus out of thirty-seven legacies noted to the Grey Friars of Exeter, eighteen came from secular clergymen. This is an unusually large proportion. A fairly representative list of benefactors will be found in my *Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 102-110. Three more bishops may be added : Nic. Longespee, bishop of Salisbury, 1297 (*Engl. Hist. Rev.* July 1900) ; Archbishop Stratford, 1348 (*Kent Arch. Soc. Sede Vacante Wills*, p. 75) ; Th. Langton, bishop of Winchester, 1501 (*ibid.* p. 105).

or 3s. 4d. "to provide a breakfast or dinner for the convent, that they may the more devoutly pray for my soul." The largest legacies recorded are those made by Henry VII. to the Observant houses, but these were partly left in trust for them to others.¹

The will of William Lord Lovell, in 1454, suggests that in some cases even when money was left to the friars they received its equivalent in goods: "I request my body to be buried at the Grayfreres of Oxenford. Also I will that a chapel and tomb be made for me and my wiff. . . . Also I will that the same Greyfreris shall have cc. marc *or the value*." ²

But what we really need in order to form an adequate estimate of the nature and amount of the income of a friary are the accounts presented to the convent fortnightly (according to the General Constitutions)³ by the guardian and "procurator" (or head of the begging department of the house). So far as I know, only one fragment of such an account has been discovered. It is preserved in the binding of the Greek Psalter at Caius College, Cambridge, and half of it has been published in facsimile in Dr. Rendel Harris's *Origin of the Leicester Codex of the New Testament* (1887), both such unlikely places that one need

¹ *E.g.* to the Observants of Greenwich, 100 marks; £200 to enclose their garden, etc.; £200 to the Prior of Charterhouse for their use (*Will of King Henry VII.*, ed. Astle, p. 30).

² Lansdowne MS., 946, f. 47.

³ *A.L.K.G.* vi. 94.

hardly despair of finding anything anywhere ! The fragment seems to be an account of receipts of a procurator or some other official of the Friars Minor of Cambridge. It consists of a sheet of two leaves : the first seems to belong to the year 1363, the second has the date 1366. Some sheets are evidently missing between the two leaves. Nine accounts seem to have been presented every year, each account covering from three to six or seven weeks. One of the accounts may be quoted to illustrate the nature of the document :

PRIMUS COMPOTUS POST FINALEM COMPOTUM SABBATO IN
FESTO SANCTI DOMINICI CONFESSORIS ¹

Dominica post festum S. Dominici in pitancia pro anima
Johannis Sauston, 1 marcham, per Baburwam.

In pitancia per Johannem Lywins, 1 marcum, per Hardissell.

In pitancia per dominum Bawdewyn de sancto Jorgio, 1
marcum.

Pro statu Agnetis et pro animabus Willelmi et Rogeri, in
pitancia, xxx.d.

Pro statu domini Johannis Godewyk, viii.s. viii.d.

Pro anima Vienne in pitancia, xl.d.

In pitancia per ff. Willelmum Blibur, xl.d.

. . . Nicolai Martyn, in pitancia pro anima patris sui,
v.s. per Badbur.

As the second "compotus" begins on Saturday, the Octave of St. Louis bishop and confessor, one may infer that the first account refers to three weeks, August 5 to 25. The total, in the

¹ Saturday, August 5, 1363. (The feast of St. Dominic was altered from Aug. 5 to Aug. 4 by Paul IV. in 1558.)

collection of which three friars are mentioned as co-operating, amounts to £3 : 2 : 6, enough, perhaps, to support about a dozen friars. The Oxford convent contained about one hundred friars at this time, and Cambridge can hardly have numbered less than seventy in term time. The "compotus," however, relates to the Long Vacation, when friars were perhaps fewer and alms less abundant.¹ Possibly the account relates to one among several districts, included in the "limits" of the Cambridge friary. But the document is full of difficulties. One "compotus" during term-time—from the end of October to the beginning of December 1366—contains only a single item, and that relates to expenditure, not income: "Pater gardianus expendit in pitancia feria v ante festum omnium sanctorum i marcam." Among other entries may be noted: "in pitancia per procuratorem xl. d." (probably the proctor of the convent, not of the University), "burgenses de Lenia xl. d.," "domina abbatissa de Deney misit conventui unum porcum" (several entries to this effect), "frater Johannes Marbilzorp misit conventui [blank] ceplas ficuum et unum cade allecium." It is noteworthy that the only alms in kind mentioned—pigs, figs, and herrings—come from Franciscan houses, from the Minoresses of Denny and the Grey Friars of

¹ Cf. provision for relief of Oxford during Long Vacation, *A.L.K.G.* vi. 63, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 309.

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London, when Malberthorp was guardian. It would, however, be unsafe to draw conclusions from this obscure, unique, and fragmentary document.

It was probably on systematic house-to-house begging that the friars relied for the regular supply of their wants. The duty of collecting alms was assigned from time to time by the guardian to certain friars called procurators (or, later, limitours). Thus Eccleston says Friar Solomon, the first man to be received into the Order in England, "used to tell me that when he was yet a novice he was made procurator, and came to his sister's house to beg alms. She, bringing him a loaf, averted her face, saying: 'Cursed be the hour that ever I saw you,' and he took the loaf joyfully and went away. So strictly did he observe the ordained form of the most pure poverty, that sometimes he carried in his hood flour and salt, or a few little figs for a sick brother, and firewood under his arms; he was most careful not to receive or keep anything beyond the limits of the most exacting necessity."¹

Chaucer gives us the picture of a begging friar some century and a half later; the friars then had a man with a sack to carry the offerings, and money was not refused. After preaching in the village church:

¹ Eccleston, p. 15.

In every house he gan to poure and pry
And beggeth mele and chese, or elles corn.
His felawe hadde a staf tipped with horn,
A peyre of tables al of yvory
And a poyntel polissed fetisly,
And wroot the names alway, as he stood,
Of alle folk that yaf him any good,
Ascaunces that he wolde for them preye.
“ Yeve us a busshel whete, malt or reye
A goddes kechil or a trip of chese,
Or elles what yow list, we may nat chese ;
A goddes half-peny or a masse-peny,
Or yeve us of your brawne if ye have eny ;
A dagon of your blanket, leve dame,
Our suster dere, lo ! here I write your name ;
Bacon or beef or swich thing as ye finde.”

A sturdy harlot wente ay hem bihinde,
That was hir hostes man, and bar a sak,
And what men yaf hem, leyde it on his bak,
And whan that he was out at dore anon,
He pleynd away the names everi chon
That he biforn had writen in his tables.

A century later, in the poem, “ God spede the plough,”¹ the support of the friars is recognized as one of the many burdens laid on the husbandman labouring “ to mayntayn this worlde yf that we may ” :

Then comme the graye Freres and make theire mone,
And call for money our soulis to save ;
Then comme the white Freres and begyn to grone,
Whete or barley they woll fayne haue ;
Then commeth the freres Augustynes and begynneth to crave
Corne or chese, for they haue not enough.

¹ E.E.T.S., orig. series, p. 30 (1867).

and the Black Friars, and the poor Observants, "They muste amongis us have corne or mete." (The emphasis on *money* in connexion with the Grey Friars is probably due to the exigencies of alliteration.)

The general conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is that the Franciscans depended during the whole three hundred years, with few exceptions, on voluntary alms (whether in money or kind) of a more or less casual nature. The reply of the guardian of the Grey Friars of Coventry to the royal commissioners in 1535 might truthfully have been made by most of his fellow guardians : "Friar John Stafford, guardian of the same house, being examined on oath, says that they have no lands nor tenements nor other possessions, nor revenues spiritual or temporal of any yearly value, but only 'limitations' in the country, and uncertain charitable gifts of the people."¹ One of the complaints of their enemies was that they relied too much on alms, not that they begged too little, but that they begged too much. This dependence on alms certainly kept them poor ; it kept them in touch with all classes in the country ; it kept constantly alive the feeling of dependence on others ; it promoted courtesy and humility. The voluntary

¹ *Valor Eccles.* iii. 57. Two years later John Stafford let most of the friary, including "le warden's chambre," for 21s. 4d. a year (Mins. Accts. 7311).

system, however, exposes men to obvious dangers and temptations. The friars were fond of quoting the line, “*Cantabit vacuus*”—the man with empty pockets may laugh at robbers—but to *have* nothing is only a source of power and strength if you *want* nothing; and chroniclers, moralists, and satirists agree in charging the friars with condoning the sins of the rich and the tyranny of the strong, with truckling to the prejudices and inflaming the passions of the populace, for the sake of gain. Thus Thomas Walsingham, the St. Albans historian, discusses the causes of the Peasant Revolt, and lays a large part of the blame on the Mendicant Friars,¹ “who have forgotten to what purpose their orders were instituted; for their holy founders wished them to be poor and entirely released from the possession of temporal things, in order that they might have nothing that they would fear to lose for telling the truth. But now envying the endowed orders, approving the crimes of the great, encouraging the common people in error, and showing favour to the sins of both, in order to win possessions and amass money, those who have renounced possessions and sworn to live in poverty, call good evil and evil good, seducing princes by flatteries and the people by lies, and dragging both with them in the evil way.”

¹ *Historia Anglicana*, ii. 13; also in *Chronicon Angliae*, 1328–1388 (R.S.), p. 312.

That there was much truth in these charges there can be no doubt; that they were generally true, it would be impossible to prove; some of the evidence on which an estimate could be based will come before us later when we consider the work of the friars as confessors and preachers. Meantime we may note some definite instances (mostly from hostile witnesses) of the second half of the thirteenth century, in which the Franciscans sacrificed their material interests to protest against tyranny, to withstand popular clamour, and to observe the vow of poverty.

The first comes from Matthew Paris. In 1252 "the king sent a wagon load of gray woollen cloth, suitable to clothe the Friars Minor, to the Friars Minor as his alms; but they, hearing that the king had extorted this from the merchants and withheld the price, giving only tallies, abhorred to receive such a gift, and sent back the whole bundle with the wagon, saying that it was not lawful to give alms of the rapine of the poor, nor would they receive such an abominable gift."¹

The second is also from Matthew Paris. In 1256, "when certain Jews, accused of the murder of the crucified boy at Lincoln, to the number of seventy-one, condemned to prison and death by a jury of twenty-five knights, were detained in prison in London to be hanged, they sent secret

¹ *Chronica Majora*, v. 275-76.

messengers to the Friars Minor, as their enemies assert, to intercede for them, that they might be delivered from death and prison, though they deserved the foulest death. The friars, influenced by bribes, as the world says, if the world is to be believed in such a case, by their prayers and intercessions liberated the Jews from prison and the death which they deserved : but I think we ought piously to believe that they were moved by a spirit of pity—because as long as a man is alive—having free will—he can be saved, and there is hope for him. . . . But this argument could not save them from being blackened by scandal. The common people withheld their charity, and would not give them alms as before. And as the devotion of the Londoners grew lukewarm towards the Friars Minor, so the charity of the Parisians grew cold towards the Friars Preachers, who endeavoured to invalidate the ancient and approved customs of the University.”¹

The author of the original of the *Lanercost Chronicle*, Fr. Richard of Durham,² attributes the saving of the Jews to the arguments of Adam Marsh,³ the Burton annalist to the Dominicans of London. The latter, after describing in detail the savage execution of the chief priest of the Jews and others, goes on : “ Meanwhile, horrible to relate, the Friars Preachers, who for

¹ *Chronica Majora*, v. 546.

² *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxxi. 269.

³ *Lanercost Chron.* p. 24.

love of the Crucified have chosen poverty and professed a strict rule of life, that by the example of good works and by the word of life they might save souls about to perish and rescue them from the jaws of hell, strove with all their might to save the rest of the Jews who were shut up in prison, and deserved eternal damnation with the devil, seeing that they had no wish or intention to be converted to the faith of Christ. Hence it is amazing that they should make any attempt to save unbelievers from death, unless they wished to be converted and baptized. But what do we see ? It often happens that fermentation comes from those who ought to show themselves unleavened ; for rumour maintained that corrupted by immense sums of money they promised to save them from death. If this is true, which God forbid, we know not how they could avoid the sin of simony. But we blush to admit this of them : for by their very habit and by asking daily food from door to door they show that they have despised the world more completely than all other orders. But in whatever spirit they tried to deliver the Jews, they roused great anger, not only of the Londoners, but of almost all the people of the whole of England who heard of it. For they were held in such contempt that in all the city of London they went for very many days in want of food and drink ; though they begged in the usual way from door to door, they

could find no one to extend to them the hand of mercy or to help their need.”¹

If the Burton annalist is correct in attributing this action to the Friars Preachers, we have the evidence of two hostile witnesses that both the great mendicant Orders had the power to see straight and the courage to do right; that both were willing to fling themselves against the fiercest prejudices and passions of their time, and to incur hunger, misrepresentation, and obloquy for the sake of justice and mercy.

The monk of Westminster, who continued the *Flores Historiarum* in 1265, was scandalized that the Franciscans should have supported Simon de Montfort “by their preachings and approvals” against pope and king, “not thinking, as they ought, of the privileges and honours which the Roman Church has showered upon them, or how King Henry has cared for and watered the poor little plant of their Order, translated from the vale of Spoleto, till it has become a full-grown and spacious vine, overspreading so many boroughs and cities.”²

The last instance is more commonplace. It is an entry in the Wardrobe Accounts of 25 Edward I. (1297). “To the Friars Minor assembled in their general (*i.e.* provincial) chapter celebrated in London on the feast of the Ascension

¹ *Annales Monast.* (R.S.) i. 346-47.

² *Flores Hist.* (R.S. ed. Luard) iii. 266.

of the Lord, for their pittance on the same day of the Ascension by the hands of Friar Walter of Salisbury, 100^s. And note that the lord king ordered John of Droxford, Keeper of the Wardrobe, that the said friars should be fed by the king for the three days of their chapter there celebrated, but because they were fed for two days out of the three by other magnates, they would not receive the money except for the first day.”¹ It would perhaps not be impossible even now, when public spirit is far more developed than it was in the Middle Ages, to find individuals and institutions less scrupulous in their dealings with the Exchequer than were the English Franciscans in 1297.

Poverty with the Franciscans was not only a practice for themselves, but a theory of wider application; how was the “Poverty of Christ and the Apostles” to be reconciled with the endowments and the temporal power of the Church? It was inevitable that this question should arise, and on the continent it led to bitter struggles and fierce persecutions, which culminated in the pontificate of John XXII. The English Province seems to have produced no “Fratricelli” (though Cambridge was a centre of vigorous opposition to John XXII.),² but among the English Franciscans there can be traced a

¹ Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 7965, f. 9^v.

² *Bull. Franc.* v. 402, 465.

tendency to support the State in its attacks on ecclesiastical property and power. One of the accusations brought against the Mendicant Friars by William of St. Amour and his followers was "that, in order to please men, they flatter, praise and justify secular princes, who check the temporal jurisdiction of the church." Pecham answers the charge in three words: "totum est mendacium."¹ This reply would have been absurd some fifty years later when William of Ockham was issuing his great attacks on the secular power of the Church. The influence of Ockham on Wiclif was pointed out by Wiclif's opponents and admitted by himself.² About the time that Wiclif entered the arena of ecclesiastical politics, Friar John Mardeslay was championing the cause of the State against the papal claim for tribute in the Council of Westminster in 1374 on thoroughly Franciscan principles, "showing that the two swords did not mean temporal and spiritual power, and that Christ had not temporal dominion; which he proved by the scriptures and gospels, by quotations from the doctors, by the example of the religious who abandon worldly goods, and by the decretals; and he related how Boniface VIII. claimed to

¹ Pecham, "De paupertate" (*Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies*, ii.), pp. 65, 82.

² Lechler, *Johann von Wiclif*, ii. 608, 610. I take this opportunity of drawing attention to Father J. Hofer's valuable "Biographische Studien über Wilhelm von Ockham," in *Arch. Franc. Hist.* vi. (1913).

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be lord of all kingdoms, and how he was repulsed in France and England.”¹ In the fifteenth century Friar William Russell’s teaching, that tithes might be withheld from the parsons and given “in pios usus pauperum,” created such alarm that the University of Oxford decreed that every applicant for a degree should solemnly forswear his conclusions.² At York in 1426 a Franciscan friar, Thomas of Richmond, boldly argued in a public sermon that it was the duty of the State to punish and imprison criminous clerks, and that the lay courts should take cognisance of spiritual cases such as fornication and perjury.³ At the beginning of the sixteenth century Friar Henry Standish defended the act which deprived murderers, robbers of churches, and housebreakers of benefit of clergy if they were not in holy orders, maintaining that “it was not against the liberty of the Church, because it was for the welfare of the whole realm.” Three of these men held high office in the Order: Mardeslay and Standish were provincial ministers; William Russell, guardian of London; and they are typical of a strain which marked the Franciscan Order throughout its history.

¹ *Eulog. Hist.* (R.S.) iii. 337-38.

² *Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 257-59.

³ *Records of the Northern Convocation*, ed. Kitchin (Surtees Soc.), pp. 146-72.

II

FAILURE OF MENDICANCY

THE English Franciscans were true to the vow of poverty in that the lands which they held (or which were held in trust for them) were insignificant, and that they lived mainly on voluntary alms. But the gradual rise in the standard of living—a subtle, sometimes unnoticed, and almost inevitable growth of expenditure—strained these resources to breaking point. The friars found themselves forced to devote a disproportionate amount of their energies to the mere maintenance of themselves and their establishments, with the result that their general tone was lowered and their social and spiritual usefulness impaired.

The growth of expenditure may best be followed in the items of clothing and building.

“*Nuditas pedum*” and “*vilitas vestimentorum*” were, according to Albert of Pisa, among the features which specially exalted the Order.¹

That the friars should go barefoot is only

¹ Eccleston, p. 102.

implied in the Rule by the exception—"Those who are obliged by necessity may wear shoes." The General Constitutions of 1260 ordain that no friar shall go shod unless his evident necessity is known to the brethren or has been judged sufficient by the guardian in the presence of the brethren.¹

The Constitutions of 1292 contain the modification that "no friar shall go habitually (or usually) shod."² The Constitutions of 1354, recalling that going unshod was a distinguishing mark of the Order, enjoin that "no friar shall wear shoes without urgent and manifest necessity, and that by special licence of the minister, which licence may in the minister's absence be given by the custodian, guardian, or their vicars, with the advice of the 'discreti.'"³ The introduction of the "minister" may imply a half-hearted attempt to bring some uniformity, in the practice, at any rate, of each province.

In England the drawings of Friars Minor in the contemporary MS. of Matthew Paris' *Chronicle* depict them with bare feet;⁴ the Public Records contain evidence that the Friars Minor went "discalceati," as contrasted with the Friars Preachers in the reign of Henry III.,⁵ and the Dominicans,

¹ *A.L.K.G.* vi. 91.

² *Ibid.* p. 91, n. 1.

³ *Bull. Franc.* vi. 640.

⁴ See reproductions in *Brit. Soc. Franc. Studies*, v., and illustrated edition of Green's *Short Hist. of the English People*.

⁵ Liberate Rolls, 17 Hen. III. m. 2; 23 Hen. III. m. 6; 28 Hen. III. m. 18; 45 Hen. III. m. 7.

c. 1243, admitted that the Franciscans went "nudi pedes et viliter tunicati cinctique funiculis."¹ A satiric poem on "the Order of Fair-Ease," written probably towards the end of the thirteenth century, remarks that the Friars Preachers do not go barefoot like the Friars Minor—"Ne vont come les autres nuyz péez."² From Pecham's writings it appears that about 1270 the rule against wearing shoes was often relaxed in individual cases in winter, and the future archbishop significantly points out that sandals are not prohibited.³ A century later, c. 1395, the author of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*⁴ says :

Fraunces bad his bretheren barfote to wenden ;
 Nou han thei buclod schon for bleynynge of her heles,
 And hosen in harde weder y-hamled by the ancle.

The habit specified in the Rule is one tunic with a hood ("caputium"), and another without a hood for those who wish it. The Testament mentions also the cord and breeches ("femoralia"). "All the friars," adds the Rule, "shall be clothed in coarse garments, and may patch⁵ them with sackcloth and other pieces with the blessing of God." For the clothing of the brethren, the

¹ Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* iv. 279.

² *Polit. Songs* (Camden Soc.), p. 146.

³ Pecham, "Contra Kilwardby" (*Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies*, ii.), pp. 124, 129-30 ; "Tractatus Pauperis," *ibid.* p. 49.

⁴ Ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S. pp. 11-12.

⁵ "Repeciare," cf. Eccleston, p. 117.

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ministers and "custodes"¹ alone were to take care through spiritual friends, according to places and times and cold climates.

The Constitutions of 1260 give further details. Garments should be poor both as to price and as to colour. Entirely black or entirely white over-tunics shall not be worn, and carded cloth is not to be used if other can be obtained. Tunics are to be suitable, without deformity or superfluity in length or width. Suitable cloth is to be bought and put at the disposal of the guardian, and the same cloth is to be used for all the friars, no distinction being made for ministers, lecturers, and other officers. No friar shall have more than one under-tunic, whether simple or lined, nor more than two habits or tunics. The Constitutions of 1292 change the last decree into—"No friar shall have more than two new habits in one year."

The General Chapter of 1316 ordered uniformity in value, colour, and shape, and decreed that mantles or cloaks² shall be of common cloth, not gathered or ruffed at the neck.³

The Constitutions of 1354 announce that the habit should show the hardness and poverty of the Rule; it should not be so expensive as to impress the beholder with its elaborateness, nor

¹ "Custodes" here includes guardians: see *A.L.K.G.* vi. 90.

² Constitutions of 1260 forbid "excessus in . . . mantellis" (*A.L.K.G.* vi. 91).

³ *Arch. Fr. Hist.* iv. 279, repeated in 1331 (*ibid.* ii. 283).

so mean as to excite disgust or ridicule. Ministers are urged to bring about uniformity in their provinces. Further, shirts of linen or cotton are forbidden. The cord is to be of common material.¹

The dress of the Friars Minor, as given in the Matthew Paris drawings, is a single garment reaching to the feet, with a hood and long, rather close-fitting sleeves. There is no mantle. On the other hand, Eccleston relates, as a peculiar mark of the Cambridge custody, that the friars there did not wear mantles to the time when Friar Albert visited England.² The material employed in Henry III.'s time was sometimes "blanchet," sometimes russet, sometimes "gris-eng"; four ells went to a habit; a common and cheap quality was used. Thus the russet which the king ordered the sheriff of Berkshire to supply to make tunics for the Friars Minor of Reading, in 1239, was not to exceed 11d. an ell.³ The usual price for russet in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is 1s. 4d. an ell. By a sumptuary law of 1363, farm labourers and others having less than 40s. in goods were to wear blanket and russet costing not more than 12d. the ell.⁴ If the width of the cloth was two ells between the selvidges, as provided by Magna Carta (cap. 35), the allowance of four ells seems very generous measure for one habit or tunic.

¹ *Bull. Franc.* vi. 640.

² Eccleston, p. 44.

³ *Liberate Roll*, 23 Hen. III. m. 3.

⁴ Salzmann, *Engl. Industries of the Middle Ages*, p. 169.

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The friars wore two tunics—presumably in cold weather. Albert of Pisa “wished them to wear the old tunics over the new, both for lowliness and to make them last longer.”¹ No distinction was made between officers and others. Haymo of Faversham sat in the provincial chapter clad in a torn habit of the coarsest material.² In 1262 the winter clothing for the Franciscans of London cost half as much as that of the Dominicans.³

At the end of the fourteenth century the material is more expensive, the garments more elaborate and voluminous.

Habitū se protegunt panni melioris,
Tunicis pelliciis frigus claudunt foris.⁴

William of Woodford admits that the friars were better clothed in England than elsewhere, and explains that this was due to the abundance of wool in England.⁵ But luxury went further than this. The author of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* puts into the mouth of an Austin friar the following description of a Franciscan :

That in cotyng of his cope is more cloth y-folden
Than was in Fraunces froc whan he hem first made.
And yet, vnder that cope a cote hath he furred
With foyns or with fitchewes other fyn beuer,
And that is cutted to the kne and queyntly y-botened,
Lest any spirituall man aspie that gile.

¹ Eccleston, p. 99.

² Eccleston, p. 108.

³ Liberate Rolls, 45 Hen. III. m. 16.

⁴ *Political Poems* (R.S.), i. 256.

⁵ Brian Twyne MS. xxi. 501 (from Woodford's “Responsiones ad lxxv. quaestt.,” Quaest. 61).

Wiclif lays stress on the differences existing between members of the Minorite Order. "And so of clothing thei don agenst this reule in many maneres; for men seen that the kyng or the emperour myztte with worschiþe were a garne-ment of a frere for goodnesse of the cloth, and namely of suche freris as schulden most kepe povert of crist and his apostelis, as ben clepid maistris of diuynyte, . . . and summe oone hath wast clothis and costi, and a nother symple frere that nys not so grete flaterere nakid and to-rent."¹ The Observants returned to the earlier tradition, and in 1502 were able to effect a general reform in dress throughout the province. "Aboute Easter this yere," a London Chronicle records,² "the Gray ffreres chaunged their habyte: ffor where of long tyme before they vsed to were broun Russet of iiij^s vi^d or viii^s a yerd, now they were compelled to were kenet Russet of ii^s a yerd; which was brought about by labour of the ffreres of Grenewich and by favour of the Bisshop of Wynchestre Doctour ffox." The colour of the new habit was "white-gray," "as the sheep doth dye it."

"Poverty in buildings" was insisted on by the early Franciscans, as by most Christian reformers, and, as usual, it proved an ideal difficult to maintain against the combined assaults of piety and

¹ Matthew, *Unprinted Engl. Works of Wyclif* (E.E.T.S.), p. 50.

² Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 255-56.

pride. That his friars should have poor little houses of mud and wood and small churches was the will of St. Francis, for these will make a better sermon than words.¹ The first ministers of England strove to adhere to this ideal in the face of the generosity of benefactors and the desire of some of the friars to adorn and enlarge their houses. Thus under Agnellus the chapel at Cambridge "was built so very poor that the carpenter in one day made and put up 15 pairs of rafters," which perhaps formed the skeleton of the roof.² At Oxford the infirmary was barely a man's height, and much excitement was caused by the glass windows and painted pulpit at Gloucester, the friar who had painted it and the guardian who had allowed it to be done being punished.³ Albert of Pisa was equally strict: "he destroyed the stone cloister at Southampton, though with great difficulty, because the men of the town resisted."⁴ He failed to pull down the elaborate chapel of the friars at Reading, with its "gold-starred" altarpiece, owing to the opposition of the king who had built it, but he hoped heaven might destroy it.⁵ William of Nottingham carried on the crusade: he caused Laurence Cox, who built the house at Shrewsbury, to remove the stone

¹ *Spec. Perf.* (ed. Sabatier) cap. 10.

² Eccleston, p. 28. Cf. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, 2nd ed. p. 409.

³ Eccleston, pp. 55, 47.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 99.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 100, 173.

walls of the dormitory and make mud walls, which Laurence did with great devotion and sweetness, and very great expense: he had the roof of the church in London taken off and ordered the embossments in the cloister to be scraped away.¹ We must, he said, consider the mind of St. Francis and his intention in the Rule, otherwise superfluities will grow in the Order, just as hairs grow in the beard, unnoticed.² But William of Nottingham was not a man to push things to extremes and attempt the impossible. So while in his provincialate the provincial constitutions on poverty in buildings were confirmed by John of Parma in the chapter at Oxford, he admitted that it was wise to make buildings fairly large, lest the brethren in future times should make them too large.³

Soon after the middle of the thirteenth century denunciations of the friars' buildings begin to be heard. The friars, declared William of St. Amour,⁴ were worse than the devil; the devil proposed to turn stones into bread; the friars turn the bread of the poor into stones—a phrase used later by Wiclif or his followers.⁵

The tendency was sufficiently marked to call forth a grave warning from Grosseteste. In a

¹ Eccleston, pp. 29, 57.

² *Ibid.* p. 125.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 57, 123.

⁴ *Opera Omnia*, p. 462.

⁵ *Gul. de S. Amore Opera Omnia*, p. 462; *Apology for the Lollard Doctrines attrib. to Wiclif* (Camden Soc.), p. 49.

sermon preached in a chapter of the friars, he said: "Let all things with you be kept down to the supply of strict necessities, that in all things pertaining to you may be read the poverty and humility of Christ, not any superfluity or lust of the flesh or worldly ambition; let there not be read in your habit renunciation of the world, and in your houses worldly ambition. For ye are the epistle of Jesus Christ sent into the world, that, in the epistle, Christ may be read to us. Christ will not be written and read in your habit and your bodies as in the text, while in your houses, as it were on the margin, is read love of the world, which is his enemy: he wills that you should be his epistle and book written in text and margin, within and without, with his poverty and humility, that in you all and in all that pertains to you there be nothing written and nothing read but himself alone."¹

Adam Marsh protests fervently against the same tendency, which made the friars waste on bricks and mortar the energies which ought to be devoted to things of the spirit.²

Eccleston, while quoting the revelation made by Henry of Reresby, a dead friar, that the brethren, if they were not damned for excess of building, would be severely punished, and while lamenting the loss of spiritual power suffered by

¹ Printed in Eccleston, App. p. 187.

² *Mon. Franc.* i. 362.

preachers who devoted their energies to collecting alms for building, justifies the erection of larger houses on the grounds that the number of friars increased, and that persons often entered the Order for whom it seemed right that more honourable provision should be made, and records with pride and gratitude the benefactions to the London convent in his time.¹

Though the amount of building which went on was sufficient to offend the tender consciences of strict Franciscans, there does not seem to have been anything in the English Province in the middle of the thirteenth century to justify the assertion of Matthew Paris that the friars' houses rivalled royal palaces.² The chapel which William Joyner built for the London friars merely formed "a large part of the choir" of the later church.³ The remains of the Franciscan church at Lincoln which date from this time clearly belonged to a small building. If the school at Oxford was a fair size, the living accommodation was not excessive; apart from the minister, only the master of the students had a separate chamber where he could at certain times be secure from interruption, and Roger Bacon complains in 1267 that in the universities only the lecturer on the Sentences had a private room and an assistant, the lecturer on the Bible being without

¹ Eccleston, pp. 39, 54-9, 26, 27, 46. ² *Chron. Maj.* iv. 280.

³ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 157.

these helps.¹ The friars ate in the common refectory and slept in the common dormitory. And it must be remembered that in the Mendicant Orders offices were not held for life; ministers, custodians, guardians formally resigned their offices in each provincial chapter, and though often reappointed, they were also often deposed or "absolved"—a system on which the friars laid great stress;² those who had "passed the chair" resumed the common life and became simple friars. Distinctions of seniority and rules of precedence so carefully observed in monasteries of the endowed Orders had no place in houses whose inmates were constantly coming and going, and the disregard of the etiquette of monastic life offended the monks, who despised the mendicants as ill-bred and guilty of "magna rusticitas."³

There is no reason to suppose that the houses of the English Franciscans before 1260 exceeded the limits of poverty as laid down in the General Constitutions of that year. "Elaboration of buildings in pictures, canopies, windows, pillars, and so forth, or excess in length, breadth, and

¹ R. Bacon, *Opera Ined.* (ed. Brewer, R.S.) p. 329; cf. *Lanercost Chron.* p. 130; *Constit. Generales*, 1260, *A.L.K.G.* vi. 99: "nullus frater habeat cameram clausam . . . ministris exceptis et lectoribus in generalibus studiis constitutis." In the dissolution documents references occur to "le warden's chambre" (e.g. Coventry) or "the prior's lodging" (e.g. Southampton). I do not know when the guardians secured the privilege.

² See, e.g., Salimbene (*Mon. Germ. Script.* xxxii.), p. 112: "conservatio religionum est frequens mutatio prelatorum."

³ Bonaventura, *Opera Omnia*, viii. 371.

height—the importance of the place being taken into account—shall be strictly avoided. . .

Churches shall not be vaulted, except the main chapel (*i.e.* over the high altar)—the campanile shall in future nowhere be made in the shape of a tower; painted glass windows shall not be introduced, except that in the principal window behind the high altar of the choir there may be images of the Crucifix, the Blessed Virgin, St. John (the Evangelist), St. Francis and St. Anthony.”¹ But the buildings permitted by authority were far removed from the primitive simplicity of St. Francis’ ideal. Bonaventura preferred large houses to small, that there might always be enough friars to perform divine service suitably while some were preaching and begging “in terminis,” others in the town, and yet others were sick. He explained and defended the loftiness of the houses which was a stumbling-block to many; land was dear in towns, and some of the site must be kept as an open space in which the brethren might take air and exercise; and stone must be the material, not only as being more durable but because to build of wood and thatch in a crowded city would increase the likelihood of fire and be a danger to the neighbours.² But Bonaventura admitted that many houses in the Order belied the profession of poverty, and

¹ *A.L.K.G.* vi. 94, 95.

² Bonav. *Op. Omnia*, viii. 341, 367.

Pecham writing soon after 1270 denounced such houses as “monstra ordinis.”¹

It was about 1270 or soon after that the great building period began in England, and it lasted about fifty years. This increase in building was not due to any marked increase in the number of friars.

In the reign of Henry III. we have a few indications as to number of friars in individual houses. For instance, there were 80 friars in the London convent in 1243, and 23 at Winchester in the same year, 26 at Chichester in 1253, 13 at Reading in 1239, and possibly a royal gift of 26s. 8d. to the Franciscans at Oxford in 1233 may imply that the Grey Friars there then numbered 80.² And we have Eccleston's statement as to the total number of friars in the province in 1256-57; there were 49 houses and 1242 friars—*i.e.* an average of about 25 friars to each house.³

After that time we have no general estimate of the number of friars in the province, but during the fifty years from 1289 to 1338 royal alms supply evidence as to the numbers in many individual houses. The following results are derived from some 140 grants “pro pitancia” or “pro putura”

¹ Bonav. *u.s.* pp. 342, 470-71; Pecham, *De Paupertate*, p. 37; cf. *A.L.K.G.* iii. 147; Raymond Gaufredi's defence of fine houses and churches.

² All these come from the Liberate Rolls. See Eccleston, p. 14, n. c.

³ Eccleston, p. 14.

to houses of Franciscan friars noted from a miscellaneous series of documents known as "Accounts (Exchequer) etc." in the Public Record Office and from some Wardrobe Accounts in other libraries during those fifty years.¹ Thirty-nine houses participated in these grants; there were during this period 58 houses in the English Province (including Scotland). We are without information about 19 houses.² Among these nineteen are included some important houses like Bristol, and all but two of the convents of the Custody of Worcester. Of the houses mentioned in the Exchequer Accounts, many are represented only by a single entry, such as Winchelsea, Oxford, Bedford, Exeter, Hereford, while the convent of York received ten grants and that of London sixteen. As one might expect, the houses varied very much in size: the largest house was London, the highest number of friars recorded there being 90 (in 1336); Oxford is almost as large, having 84 friars in 1317. At the other end of the scale are the Scottish houses, Roxburgh and Dumfries, with 4 or 5 friars each. Of

¹ See P.R.O. Accounts (Exchequer), etc., 352 (18), 356 (7, 8, 9, 21), 357 (4), 381 (14), 383 (14), 387 (9), 388 (5); Chapter House Books, A. 15. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton Nero C. viii.; Addit. 7965, 7966A, 8835, 9951, 17,362. Soc. of Antiquaries MS. Wardrobe Accts. 10 and 11 Edw. II.; *Liber Quotid. Contrarot. Gard.* 28 Ed. I. ed. Topham.

² These nineteen houses are: Bridgewater, Bristol, Carmarthen, Cardiff, Yarmouth, Dunwich, Lichfield, Stafford, Preston, Shrewsbury, Chester, Llanfaes, Bridgenorth, Grimsby, Scarborough, Richmond, Hartlepool, Haddington, Dundee.

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the English houses very few were ever below 20.

A curious fact is the great variation in the numbers of friars in the same house, even in the same year. This is most noticeable in the case of London; in 1314-15 the numbers are 64 and 72; in 1317, 80 and 70; in 1318-19, 64; in 1319-20, 80; in 1320-21 they varied from 72 to 58; at the beginning of Edward III.'s reign from 80 to 90. Winchester contained 43 friars in 1315, 28 in 1317; Stamford 26 in 1299, 40 and 46 in 1300, 28 in 1317. York during the whole period varied from 52 to 36, Cambridge from 55 to 70. What the explanation of these changes is is not clear; probably there were many causes; thus the absence of friars on preaching tours may account for some of the sudden decreases in the number of inmates of a house. In some cases it may merely imply a temporary transfer from one house to another; thus the figures for Stamford in 1300 and 1317 are 46 and 28 respectively; those for Northampton in the same years, 34 and 50. At any rate the fact illustrates the mobility of the friars.

It is possible with the evidence before us to arrive at fairly accurate conclusions. The 39 houses of which we have details represented in any one year a total of about 1360-1370 friars—giving an average of about 35 for each house, as compared with 25 for each house in 1256. The

average for the 19 houses of which we have no details was perhaps rather less, as a considerable proportion of them were less important houses ; if we put it at 30 this would make a total of 570, and would bring the grand total of all Franciscans in the English Province to rather less than 2000. This figure holds good of the period when the friars were numerically at their strongest. A few years later the Black Death thinned their ranks—to what extent it is impossible to say. From the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War the royal grants of pittances to the friars cease to be recorded in the Exchequer Accounts ;¹ whether this is due to the actual cessation of royal alms or to the royal alms taking another form, or to the adoption of a new method of accounting at the Exchequer or Wardrobe, or to the loss of records, is not clear ; but the fact remains that from the time of the Black Death onwards no royal grants of pittances to houses of friars have been found, and we are deprived of this evidence of their numbers. The only record of a similar kind which has come to light in the latter half of the fourteenth century is an entry in a New College Bursars' Roll of the year 1377 :² it is an alms of £13 : 19s. given by William of Wykeham to the four Orders of Mendicant Friars at Oxford, probably on the death

¹ There are a few for 1343–44 in P.R.O. Chapter House Books, A 1⁶/₁₀.

² I am indebted to the Rev. H. E. Salter for this reference.

of Edward III., at the rate of 1s. to each friar; the numbers are: Friars Preachers, 70; Friars Minor, 103; Carmelites, 57; Austin Friars, 49. Comparing these figures with those of 1317, we find that while the Friars Preachers have fallen from 90 in 1317 to 70 in 1377 (a decrease which may be explained by certain constitutional controversies in the Order at the latter date),¹ all the other Orders show an increase—the Minorites from 84 to 103, the Carmelites from 45 to 57, and the Austin Friars from 45 to 49. The case of Oxford is, however, exceptional, and no general conclusions as to other convents can be drawn from it. There is a list of the members of the London house attending an important conventual chapter in 1460; they number (besides the Provincial Minister) only 34.² As the friars here numbered 26 in 1538, it looks as though there was a great and steady decline throughout the fifteenth century rather than a sudden exodus from the Order on the eve of the Dissolution.

The increase in the number of friars in the latter part of the thirteenth century was not sufficient to necessitate the great expansion of building which took place between 1270 and 1320.

The evidence we possess of such building is almost entirely casual and incidental; yet it embraces the majority—if we exclude the custody

¹ See *V.C.H. Oxfordshire*, ii. 115-17.

² P.R.O. Chancery Miscell. 20/7 (9) (reference kindly given by Mr. Kingsford).

of Newcastle where social and political conditions were not favourable to building operations during the greater part of this period,—the great majority of the English houses. It is safe to conclude that building went on at other houses of which no knowledge has come down to us. The consecration of new Franciscan churches at Bedford (1295), York (1303), Nottingham (1303), Bodmin (1322), Canterbury (1325) is recorded in the Episcopal Registers. It must be remembered that the friars could have their churches consecrated by any Catholic bishop, and they often employed for this purpose Franciscan bishops “in partibus infidelium” who happened to be in England. Thus Peter of Bologna, the Minorite bishop of Corbau, who was in England *c.* 1320 to 1331, dedicated churches in many dioceses,¹ and these dedications would probably not be recorded in the diocesan registers. New Franciscan churches were certainly dedicated during this period at London, Winchelsea, Southampton, Chichester, Reading, Grantham, Exeter, Colchester, Dunwich, Worcester, Lichfield, Beverley, Scarborough, Carlisle, and probably at Salisbury and Ipswich. I have noted evidence of enlargement or rebuilding of churches or houses in 34 of the English friaries between 1270 and 1320. The story of Southampton will serve as an illustration. In

¹ *Annales Paulini, Chron. Ed. I. et II.* (R.S.), i. 340, 353, 356 ; Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 72.

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1269 Henry III. granted the Friars Minor of Southampton ten oaks for the roof of their church.¹ The church was probably approaching completion in this time, but either it was not finished or it was soon regarded as inadequate.² For Nicholas Ely, Bishop of Winchester, promised to complete the church (since the friars could not afford to do so), as it was a public house in which God-fearing people could receive pardon for their sins. The bishop died in 1280 without having fulfilled his promise, and Archbishop Pecham took care that his executors carried out his wishes. The first stone of the chapel was laid on July 8, 1280, and the opening ceremony took place on the Feast of St. Francis, 1287. The rebuilding extended to the dormer and chapter house, which were completed in 1291.³

The fullest information relates to London.⁴ Here the nave of the church was built by Henry de Galis, Mayor of London, in 1283—the chapter house, dormer, and refectory by prominent citizens about the same time. The church soon proved too small, or failed to satisfy the ideals of the friars or the generosity of their benefactors.

¹ Close, 53 Hen. III.

² It was probably rebuilt on a new site; *Reg. J. Peckham* (R.S.), i. 256: "Cui [Nicolao Wintoniensi] petenti locus sub certa mensura ad hoc fuerat destinatus."

³ *Reg. J. Peckham* (R.S.), i. 255-6; J. S. Davies, *Hist. of Southampton*, where extracts from the lost register of the friary are given.

⁴ See Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*.

Queen Margaret, wife of Edward I., began to build a new choir and church in 1306, spending thereon 3000 marks in her lifetime and bequeathing 100 marks at her death. Others contributed to the nave, chief among them being John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, and Robert Lisle Baron de Lisle, each of whom gave £300: the Countess of Pembroke, niece of John of Brittany, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and his three sisters, besides some wealthy citizens of London, were among the contributors. Finally Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II., finding the church still unfinished, gave more than £700, and yet another queen, Philippa, wife of Edward III., supplied money for the roof. The church measured 300 feet by 90 feet, almost exactly the measurements of Boston Parish Church. All the pillars and the floor were of marble; and the splendour was enhanced by the thirty-six glass windows erected in the fourteenth century; a few of these were given by royal or noble benefactors; one was due to a guardian of the house, one was paid for by small subscriptions; far the greater number were given by citizens or guilds of London.

Not only the churches but the houses also became larger and more elaborate. Lodgings were supplied for seculars.¹ "Some of the lay party," says Bishop Pecocke, "object that reli-

¹ Pecocke's *Repressor* (R.S.), ii. 543.

gious monasteries, namelich of the begging religiouns, han withinne her gatis and cloocis grete large wijde hize and stateli mansiouns for lordis and ladies thereyn to reste, abide and dwelle." In the fourteenth century the English kings when in the north habitually lodged at the Grey Friars, York ;¹ and there are many instances of nobles and others having lodgings assigned them in the friaries ; at Colchester we hear of "chambers and buildings called Sir Thomas Tyrrell lodging," at Coventry of "a chamber called the Lady Evynghern's chambre," at Dorchester of the King's Chamber, at Lichfield of "the Bisshoppes lodgyng,"² and so forth.

These guests may have paid their way and even been profitable,³ but further accommodation had also to be found for friars. Thus in 1343 Clement VI. ordered the warden of London to make special provision for Robert de Lambourne who for sixteen years had been confessor to Queen Isabella ; he was to have a decent chamber which could not be occupied when he was away ; he was to have a companion of his own choice, a clerk and two servants, and he was to keep for his personal use all alms given or to be given to him by the queen or others.⁴ Similarly in 1396

¹ *Rymer's Foed.* II. ii. 909 ; *Pat.* 4 Ric. II. pt. i. m. 39.

² *P.R.O. Min. Accts.* 963, 7311 ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. ii. No. 404 ; xix. pt. i. No. 610 (116).

³ Cf. *Pecocke's Repressor*, p. 550.

⁴ *Bull. Franc.* vi. 105-6.

Boniface IX. confirmed to Friar William Woodford the privileges granted to him by his superiors, including the possession of a place in the London convent with all its chambers and appurtenances as long as he lived.¹ Wiclif says that "capped Friars, that beene called Maisters of Diuinitie, haue there chamber and service as Lords or Kings";² and though such exceptional privileges were probably not numerous, they do imply a higher standard of living among the aristocracy of the friars. (The more expensive clothing which had also been adopted points in the same direction.)

While expenses increased income tended to diminish. Though several smaller Orders were suppressed by the Council of Lyons in 1274, the four great Mendicant Orders continued to exist as rival claimants to the charity of the people. The Black Death diminished the number of givers and perhaps the resources of survivors;³ the number of friars was also of course diminished, probably permanently, and many convents found themselves saddled with larger establishments than they needed or could maintain. The French war seems to have dried up the flow of

¹ *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 312.

² *Two Short Treatises against the Begging Friars* (Oxford, 1608), p. 30.

³ But see *Chron. of John of Reading*, ed. Tait, p. 109, on the accumulation of wealth in fewer hands, and its disastrous effects on the friars.

casual royal alms, and at any rate in its later stages was a severe drain on the resources of the country. It is difficult to judge the effect of the agitation against the friars headed by Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, and carried on later by Wiclif and the Lollards; it probably raised enemies more than it stimulated friends.¹ And the active piety of the fifteenth century, in so far as it was not occupied by the building of great parish churches and the foundation of private chantries, was directed rather to the maintenance of hospitals, schools, and friendly societies than to the support of the friars.

To maintain themselves the friars in various ways broke the vow of poverty.

There is evidence not only that many individual Franciscans received small bequests, but that some held private property. I take some instances from the latter part of the fourteenth century. In 1370 Friar John de Malberthorp, O.F.M., confessor to Queen Philippa, was granted 40 marks a year at the Exchequer for life.²

Stephen of Cavendish, alderman of London, by will dated July 13, 1372, left his son Roger, a Friar Minor, an annuity of 40s. charged on a tenement in the parish of St. Botolph.³

¹ The friars obtained papal protection against Fitzralph in 1358 (*Cal. Papal Letters*, iii. 596).

² Pat. 44 Ed. III. pt. ii. m. 22.

³ *Cal. Wills, Hustings Court, London*, ii. 149.

In 1373 Friar William of Appleton entered the service of John of Gaunt as physician and surgeon. He was to receive 40 marcs a year for life from the issues of the manor of Pomfret, with power to distrain, and an additional 40 marcs a year in war-time, with livery for four horses and wages for two grooms.¹ He was murdered by the rebels in 1381, and on June 20, 1381, the king authorized the guardian of the Friars Minor of London to dispose of his goods for the salvation of his soul.² (Possibly he was the London Friar Minor who accompanied the Black Prince to Aquitaine, professed to perform the operation for which John of Arderne was famous and incurred the unmeasured contempt of the latter.³) It is clear that later, at any rate, Franciscan physicians took fees. About 1480 Friar Eryk de Vedica, Grey Friar of London, a physician of skill and reputation, was sent for by Alice, wife of William Stede, Vintner. He "seeing her grete age and jubertous sikeness" was with difficulty persuaded to attend her, but after five weeks had "soo doon hys parte unto her that she thought herself wele amended in her body, she cowde (?) hym grete thancke and gave hym 20s. for his labour." The husband sued Eryk for taking the

¹ *John of Gaunt's Register* (C.S.), § 836.

² Pat. 4 Ric. pt. iii. m. 7. *Mon. Franc.* ii. 157; cf. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* i. 462; Froissart (transl. T. Johnes), ii. 471. *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xiii. 517.

³ Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane, 3844, f. 2v.

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money, and the friar had no defence, as "the common law supposeth every receiving of the husband's goods or money by the hands of his wife without his licence or command to be a wrongful taking away of the same from him." The warden of the Grey Friars of London and Friar Eryk petitioned the chancellor to intervene.¹ From the co-operation of the warden it looks as if the physician's fees were paid into the common fund.

The next case—that of Friar William de Wydford or Woodford—seems to be an instance of the indirect endowment of a friar, much as the house of Friars Preachers at Langley was endowed through the medium of the Dominican nunnery at Dartford.² In 1382 (October 1) Margaret Mareschall, Countess of Norfolk, granted to the abbess and convent of Minoreesses without Aldgate a yearly rent of 20 marks from her place called "le Brokenwharf" in London, for the term of the life of her well-beloved father in God, William de Wydford.³ It is not expressly stated that the rent or any part of it was to be assigned to William de Wydford, but this seems to be implied; and it will account for the fact that when Wydford was on his way to Oxford to take his

¹ P.R.O. Early Chancery Proceedings, 66/397 (A.D. 1475–80 or 1483–85). Cf. Salzmänn, *Mediaeval Byways*, p. 106.

² See Father Palmer's articles in *Reliquary*, vol. xix. (A.D. 1878–79).

³ Pat. 8 Ric. II. pt. i. m. 28.

D.D. degree, he was attacked by robbers who took from him £40.¹

We will now consider the strange history of Friar John Welle (or atte Welle, or atte Wille, or Welde). He was the son of Roger atte Wille, citizen of Exeter, and Isabella his wife.² He studied theology for many years in the schools of Exeter, London, and Oxford, and was deputed by the provincial chapter, probably in 1366, to lecture on the Sentences at London. He appealed to the pope for a degree, and Urban V. on January 22, 1367, instructed Friar Angelus of Terni, S.T.P., with four masters, to examine him, and, if found fit, to confer on him with the consent of the minister-general the degree of Master, and licence to teach in any place of the Order where there is a university, granting to him all privileges and immunities as if he were promoted to the said degree at Paris or Oxford.³ The degree was not granted, possibly because he was not in priest's orders. A John Welle, O.F.M., who was ordained priest in the diocese of Hereford on June 3, 1368, may be our friar.⁴ On September 12, 1368, Urban V. issued a mandate to Bernard de Guasconibus, minister of the Friars Minor of Tuscany, to grant him, after due examination, the degree of

¹ *Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 50, 246.

² Pat. 4 Ric. II. pt. ii. m. 23.

³ *Bull. Franc.* vi. 422; *Cal. Papal L.* iv. 61.

⁴ *Heref. Epis. Reg. Charlton* (Cant. and York Soc.), p. 116.

Master in the University of Florence or elsewhere.¹ He now appears to have obtained the degree. In 1372 (April 29) Gregory XI. conferred the dignity of papal chaplain on John Welle, Friar Minor, S.T.M.² In 1375 various persons went bail for him in £1000 that he would not without the king's special licence depart to foreign parts or prosecute oversea aught which might tend to the prejudice of the king.³ In January 1377 his father and mother obtained licence from the Bishop of Exeter to have divine service celebrated in an oratory in their own house.⁴ Early in 1377 the father died, and a dispute arose between his executors and the warden of the Friars Minor of Exeter, the latter maintaining that Roger atte Wylle wished to be buried at the friars.⁵ He died seised of two messuages in the High Street; one called "Socconys Inn," of the yearly value of 53s. 4d., Friar John claimed as his son, and entered into possession, asserting that, notwithstanding his profession, he would be privileged by the court of Rome to succeed as heir; the other messuage by the Gild Hall (value 40s. a year) passed to the widow, according to immemorial custom in Exeter.⁶ She died soon afterwards, bequeathing the messuage to her son,

¹ Wadding, *Ann. Minorum*, viii. 209; *Cal. Papal L.* iv. 68.

² Wadding, viii. 533; *Cal. Papal L.* iv. 174.

³ Close, 49 Ed. III. m. 29d. (See Addendum, p. 91.)

⁴ *Exeter Epis. Reg. Brantingham*, i. 366.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 366.

⁶ Pat. 4 Ric. II. pt. ii. m. 23.

Friar John, "who by virtue of her will entered thereon." Shortly after his father's death Friar John was appointed by the bishop to take the place of the sub-dean of Exeter during the latter's absence (May 17, 1377).¹ Some months later he was in London, when his servant, Thomas Bele, and other malefactors stole from his lodgings "certain horses, chalices, books, money, silver vessels, and diverse other goods and chattels." Bele was arrested at Cambridge and some of the goods recovered, and on February 22, 1378, the king made over to Friar John any rights which he (the king) may have had to the property.² Friar John himself died at the beginning of 1381, and left a will disposing of his property. The matter came before the papal court, and Urban VI. in March 1381 instructed the papal nuncio in England "to make a composition with the executors of the will of John Wilde, a Friar Minor, to exact and give acquittance for the sum agreed upon; to sell his books which belong to the *camera* and send moneys received therefore."³ The crown, however, had already anticipated the pope; the two messuages in Exeter had been seized into the king's hands and granted on February 8 to William Corby, king's squire, and Agnes his wife.⁴

¹ *Exeter Epis. Reg. Brantingham*, i. 154.

² Pat. 1 Ric. II. pt. iv. m. 37; *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 311.

³ *Cal. Papal L.* iv. 263.

⁴ Pat. 4 Ric. II. pt. ii. m. 23.

However, one must not attach too much importance to a few isolated instances of this kind. They show a certain decay of the common life and a weakening of discipline in the Order—a movement greatly strengthened by the promiscuous grants of papal chaplaincies¹ to individual friars, especially after the beginning of the great schism.

The friars acquired their full share of chantries or anniversaries or endowments for the celebration of obits. Some of these were permanent endowments—generally in the form of land or rents—as we have seen; most were limited to a fixed period. Popular opinion regarded them as a source of great wealth to the friars.

Such annuels has made thes frers
 So wely and so gay,
 That ther may no possessioners
 Mayntene thair array.²

And existing records prove that they were numerous.

These endowments of private masses were occasional in the thirteenth century, became prevalent in the fourteenth century, and increased greatly in the fifteenth. The keeping of them for money by the friars seems to have been regarded as an innovation in England at the end

¹ See *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vols. iv. and v.

² *Poet. Poems* (R.S.), i. 267.

of the fourteenth century, and as an infringement of the rights and a misappropriation of the perquisites of the secular priests.

Unnethe may prestes seculers
Gete any service for thes frers.
That is a wondre thing
This is a quaynt custome
Ordeyned ham among
That frers shal annuel prestes bycome
And so gates selle ther song.¹

The custom formed a more or less lasting connexion between certain families and certain houses of friars, and some spiritual results may have followed from such connexion. On the other hand, the effects can hardly have been other than demoralizing: to the friars because the financial side of the practice tended to become uppermost; to the individuals for whose souls masses were sung, because the prayers of the friars seemed to offer an easy, vicarious, and post-mortem atonement for a bad life. St. Francis had exhorted the friars "that in places in which the brethren dwell only one mass should be celebrated in the day,"² "foreknowing," as Alvarus Pelagius thought, "that the friars would reduce masses to a source of gain, as we see being done to-day."³ The diversion of the energies

¹ *Polit. Poems* (R.S.), i. 267.

² Epistola II. *Opuscula S. P. Francisci*, p. 104 (ed. Quaracchi).

³ *De Planctu Ecclesiae*, Lib. ii. cap. 5; Gieseler, *Textbook of Eccl. Hist.* iii. 119.

of friars, not only to the celebration of these private masses but to securing the foundation and endowment of them, must have occasioned no small curtailment of more useful activities; the "annuallers" gave up to a family or an individual what was meant for mankind.

Further, to ensure a certain regularity of income, the friars seem to have adopted a system of farming out rights of begging in specified areas to individual friars at a fixed rent. Thus Chaucer's friar—

. . . was the beste beggere in his hous;
 And yaf a certeyn ferme for the graunt:
 None of his bretheren cam ther in his haunt:
 . . .
 His purchas was wel bettre than his rente.

In other words, he made something out of the bargain. So Jacke Upland (c. 1401) asks:

Why heue you to ferme	your limitors
Giving therefore each year	a certain rent,
And will not suffer one	in another's limitation
Right as yee were yourselves	lords of countries? ¹

And later, in 1538, the Bishop of Dover writes to Thomas Cromwell: "It were a charitable deed that capacities [permission to act as secular priests] were cheaper, so that friars might make shift to have them, for none can get them but priors who sell the convent's goods or 'lemytors' who purchase them with their lemytacions."²

¹ *Polit. Poems* (R.S.), ii. 20-21.

² *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.*, XIII. i. 1457.

There is perhaps no direct evidence that the system prevailed among the Franciscans in England, but only a grave suspicion.¹

Begging as a means of livelihood was in the intention of St. Francis complementary (or even supplementary) to manual labour. "When the price of labour is not given to us, let us have recourse to the table of the Lord, begging alms from door to door."² As the friars ceased to be occupied in manual labour, as numbers increased and houses grew and the standard of living rose, begging assumed proportions hitherto undreamt of, especially in provinces like England where the friars were sufficiently devoted to their profession to refuse landed property. This development was viewed with apprehension by friends of the Order. Grosseteste told William of Nottingham that "there was a higher degree of poverty than mendicancy, namely to live of one's own labour; hence he said that the Beguines are of the most perfect and holy religion, because they live of their own labour and do not burden the world with exactions."³ Pierre Dubois at the beginning of the fourteenth century (before the Council of Vienne) proposed drastic reforms. "It would seem expedient to provide the Mendicant Orders, though they do not ask for it, with a moderate

¹ The system prevailed widely among the Dominicans (Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux*, iii. 299-303).

² *Testamentum S. Francisci*.

³ Eccleston, pp. 123-4.

livelihood out of the goods of the commonwealth, both of the clergy and laity, that they might have leisure for thinking, instead of doing the thousand and one things which they do under compulsion of necessity. . . . If they had bread and wine with sufficient clothes and shoes provided for them by the church, casual offerings would I think suffice for the rest, considering the eminent wisdom, prudence, and experience of some members of the Mendicant Orders. . . . Would that the more prudent of them, weighing the good and evil which follow from their poverty, would choose the safer part and explain it in the Council according to their consciences, in order that the Council, taking into consideration the uncertainty of the future, should ordain what would be most wholesome.”¹ Such provision, besides enabling them to contribute more to the deepening of the spiritual life, would also have set them free to develop plans of national social reform. The royal treasury already contributed to the maintenance of the friars in the universities, and there are indications that some plan for providing for the friars generally was under discussion at this period.² Nor is the suggestion of national social

¹ Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* (ed. Langlois, 1891), pp. 85-6. The same idea occurs at the end of *Piers the Plowman, Vision*, Text B. Pass. xx. l. 381 : “ That freres hadde a fyndyng that for nede flateren.”

² Cf. e.g. the distorted rumours reported in Hemingburgh’s *Chron.* ii. 228-9.

reform alien to the thirteenth century. Before the middle of the century a society was formed in England for helping those who fell into the clutches of money-lenders.¹ Roger Bacon urged that the maintenance of the sick and aged poor should be a charge on the State.² In 1291 Gregory Rokesle, eight times Mayor of London, left the residue of his estate in the dioceses and cities of London, Canterbury, and Rochester to be given to the poor, and instructed his executors to consult the wardens of the Grey Friars of London and Canterbury as to the disposal of the property.³ We have surely the elements of a fruitful and far-reaching movement, and the friars possessed and possessed alone the knowledge and the organization necessary to give effect to it. They did not rise to the occasion. They lost a great chance. They confounded mendicancy with poverty. Mendicancy had become their watchword; it was the public proclamation of their poverty to the world. The Franciscans at any rate were too deeply committed to it to give it up, and their great and growing establishments forced them to beg more and more. Why, asked "Jacke Upland,"

Why wilt thou not beg
For poore bedred men

¹ See E. Berger's article in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont* (1913), p. 211.

² *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges), ii. 251.

³ *Cal. Wills Court of Husting, London*, i. 99. Cf. also Peckham's *Register* (R.S.), p. 895.

That bin poorer
 Than any of your sect,
 That ligger and mow not go about
 To help him selves ? ¹

Why, we may ask, can we not put to the credit of the English Franciscans anything equivalent to the foundation of the Foundling Hospital in Venice by Friar Petrucio della Pietà in 1335 ? ²

The answer must be that the friars needed all they could get. And in spite of all efforts, their houses became ruinous and debts accumulated. The prophecy of Henry of Reresby came true : If the friars were not damned for excess of buildings, they were severely punished. The only solution of the difficulty, if the " voluntary system " was to be maintained, was a return to greater simplicity of life, such as was inaugurated too late by the Friars of the Strict Observance.

It would, however, ill become a Balliol man lecturing in the Hall of Balliol College to maintain that the Franciscans were exclusively devoted to schemes for the maintenance of their own Order. It is well known that Franciscans took an honourable part in the foundation of Balliol, and for more than two centuries were associated in the government of the College. And there are other instances of Franciscan confessors directing their penitents to apply their property to the advance-

¹ *Polit. Poems* (R.S.), ii. 25.

² *Arch. Franc. Hist.* viii. 3-11.

ment of learning—notably in the case of Pembroke College, Cambridge. But these instances, so far as I know, are too few and too exceptional¹ to allow us to alter our general conclusion that the necessity of maintaining themselves on alms impaired the social usefulness of the friars, and their spiritual force. The pressure of material needs was too insistent. The cares of poverty proved as exacting and distracting as the cares of property.

¹ It is worth noticing that the benefactions of Dervorguila and Marie de St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke, are the two examples cited by Fr. William Woodford in his "Defensorium contra Armachanum," cap. 32 (Twyne MS. xxii. f. 103, in Oxf. Univ. Archives, from Magdalen Coll. MS. 75). They were evidently the most striking instances.

ADDENDUM (p. 82).—In February 1372 Friar John Welle was employed by John of Gaunt to procure seven bulls from the pope at 33s. 4d. each; he was allowed £6:13:4 for his work at the papal court, and on March 13, 1373, a sum of £20 for his expenses and for bringing the bulls back. Next year, October 12, 1374, he was granted 5 mares for the cost of a bull touching the appropriation of the church of Somercotes. On the two last occasions he is described as chaplain of John of Gaunt.—*John of Gaunt's Register* (C.S.), Nos. 905, 1179, 1545.

III

PRIVILEGE: RELATION OF THE FRIARS TO MONKS AND PARISH PRIESTS

ST. FRANCIS in his Testament strictly forbade his brethren to ask for privileges from the papacy ; he was not always consistent, but these words at the end of his life may be regarded as the results of his experience and his foresight : “ I strictly enjoin by obedience on all the brothers that, wherever they may be, they should not dare, either themselves or by means of an interposed person, to ask any letter in the Roman curia, either for a church or for any other place, neither under pretext of preaching nor on account of their bodily persecution ; but, wherever they are not received, let them flee to another land to do penance, with the blessing of God.”

The *Bullarium Franciscanum* hitherto published covers little more than the first two centuries of the Order, and fills seven folio volumes.¹

¹ Vols. i.-iii. ed. by Sbaralea, 1759-65 ; vol. iv. ed. by A. Rossi, 1768 (down to 1302) ; supplementary vol. ed. by Annibali, 1780 ; vols. v.-vii. (1303-1431) ed. by Eubel, 1898-1904, with epitome and supplement, 1908.

It includes, of course, many bulls which did not in any sense confer privileges on the Order or its members, and many privileges which were not sought by the friars, but imposed on them by the papal policy. But when all allowances are made, these seven volumes form a strange commentary on the words of St. Francis, and the declaration of Gregory IX. that the last will of the Founder was not binding on the Order¹ is a recognition of the fact that the Franciscans pursued a policy inconsistent with the intention of St. Francis, and that the papacy loved to have it so.

Long after the reliance on papal privileges had become the established policy of the Order, individuals or parties continued to exalt the earlier ideal. John of Parma wished that the friars should make their religion revered and should protect themselves against prelates and princes by their public merits rather than by apostolic privileges, and that they should justify their name of Lesser Brethren by humility and gentleness.²

The history of the foundation of the Friars Minor at Scarborough affords illustration of the two methods of going to work. The friars came to Scarborough about 1239 with the support of the king, who, on February 5, 1240, ordered

¹ "Quo elongati," September 28, 1230.

² Eccleston, p. 92. John of Parma put these principles into practice in his policy towards the University of Paris in 1254 (Salimbene (ed. Holder-Egger), pp. 299-300).

the sheriff of York to feed them one day every week.¹ The church of Scarborough had been appropriated by Richard I. to the Cistercians, to pay the expenses of their general chapters, and the monks appealed to Rome against the intruders. Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, received papal authority to hear the case and instructions to cause the buildings of the Friars Minor to be demolished if things should be as the monks maintained.

The friars' proctor, or legal representative, began by disputing the legality of the summons, which he urged was inconsistent with certain papal privileges which the friars possessed.² But after two days spent on these legal points, a Friar Minor appeared and waived all these legal arguments aside, renounced their privileges as inconsistent with the Franciscan profession, declaring that the friars would rather give up the place than offend the monks. A deep impression was evidently made by the "humility and gentleness" of the friars, not only on the bishop, but also on the monks present. In a letter to the Abbot of Cîteaux giving an account of the proceedings, Grosseteste concludes: "We, with your brethren, considering that, if the friars left Scarborough, it would redound to your dis-

¹ Liberate R. 24 Hen. III. m. 19.

² Namely, the bull of Gregory IX. issued on February 21, 1236, and reissued by Innocent IV., December 22, 1243 (*Bull. Franc.* i. 184).

credit, decided that the friars should remain till we heard from you.”¹ It is clear that the monks on the spot were converted by the “humility and reverence” of the friars, but in this case the decision rested not with them, but with the abbot and convent of Cîteaux, who, like most absentee landlords, insisted on their legal rights, and the friars had to go.² Some thirty years later they were back again in Scarborough, and for about fifteen years (1280-94) there raged between the monks and friars a bitter struggle, in which threats and misrepresentations and excommunications were freely bandied about—Archbishop Pecham as conservator of the privileges of the friars doing his utmost to rouse clergy and laity against the “demoniac monks”—while Wickwaine, Archbishop of York, alone tried to import an element of sweetness into the unsavoury business, by urging the monks to allow “a little benevolence” to guide their actions.³

The policy of relying on their “public merits” failed the friars in this case owing to special circumstances; the policy of relying on privilege succeeded, but at the cost of sacrificing Christian charity.

¹ Grosseteste, *Epist.* (R.S.) 321-3; Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* iv. 280; *Mon. Franc.* (R.S.) i. 406.

² Pat. 29 Hen. III. m. 2; Close, 29 Hen. III. m. 4.

³ *Reg. J. Peckham* (R.S.), pp. 214-16, 246-8, 284; *Reg. W. Giffard* (ed. Willis Bund), p. 135; *Hist. P. and L. from the Northern Reg.* (R.S.) pp. 79, 102; Rymer, *Foed.* i. 661.

Concerning the struggle between the Friars Minor and the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds we are exceptionally well informed. Bury was an important place; in point of population it was among the twenty largest towns in England. There was a vigorous and growing local life, which the abbot and convent as lords of the town did their best to keep in subjection. It was natural that the friars should seek a settlement in such a place,¹ and the accession of Alexander IV., a great supporter of the Minorites, gave them an opportunity. In 1257, armed with a papal licence, some friars slipped into Bury during a vacancy in the abbacy, celebrated mass and began to establish themselves in a house granted by a leading citizen. The monks and their supporters proceeded to the place and expelled the friars "with ignominy but without violence," according to their own account, but as the chapel and all buildings of the friars were razed to the ground while the friars were dining with their host, the persuasion employed by the monks was probably not entirely moral. Both sides appealed to Rome, and the monks played a trump card—a privilege from Gregory IX. forbidding the erection of a chapel within a mile of the Abbey.² The action of Alexander IV.

¹ They tried to establish themselves here in 1233 and 1238 (*Annals of Dunstable in Ann. Monast.* iii. 134, iv.; Taxter in *Flor. Wigorn.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.) ii. 176-7).

² *Cal. Papal Letters*, i. 137 (Dec. 21, 1233), 172 (1238).

was curiously vacillating. He denounced the monks as sons of disobedience, heretics and apostates; but the newly elected Abbot of Bury returned from Rome with a papal letter against the encroachments of the friars. And after issuing several more contradictory bulls the pope committed the tangled business to the judgement of papal delegates in England. The delegates went to Bury, pronounced judgement for the friars and gave them possession of the site. The monks drove out both judges and friars, and there the pope seems to have left it.

The ecclesiastical arm having failed, the friars had recourse to the secular arm. They secured the support of King, Queen, Prince Edward, Richard Earl of Gloucester, and other nobles. Another citizen offered a new site, and the friars triumphantly entered it in 1258 in the midst of a body of armed troops. It is noteworthy that both the rival parties in the State—king and barons—united to support the friars, who now seemed firmly established and proceeded to build houses.

But popes and politics change. On the death of Alexander IV. the monks renewed their appeal to his successor, Urban IV., who, in October 1263, ordered the friars to cease building, demolish what they had built, and leave the town within a month. After six weeks' resistance the friars retired. They were unable to fall back on the secular arm, as Richard of Gloucester

was dead and the king and his party were not in a position to resist the papacy in 1263. The friars then appeared to have failed completely. But the monks were pursued by "vulgar whispers," which grew so loud that the abbot and convent found it advisable to grant the friars of their free gift a site outside the town. This was Babwell, where the friars remained till the Dissolution. Where papal privileges, royal and noble support, and force of arms all failed, the steady pressure of public opinion succeeded.¹

A struggle between friars and monks was inevitable, because they represented different social ideals. It was not merely or mainly because the friars' church might reduce the revenues of the church of St. Edmund that the monks of Bury resisted so vigorously the invasion of their precinct, but because the friars supported the townsfolk, the tenants of the abbey, in their fight for freedom. This comes out clearly in the story of the riots of 1327, when the monks attributed their misfortunes to the "advice and help" which the "wicked villains" received from the friars of Babwell, who marched at the head of the rioters singing litanies, and gave

¹ This account is based on *Bull. Franc.* ii. 255, 464; *Suppl.* (ed. Eubel) p. 266; *Pat.* 42 Hen. III. m. 10, 43 Hen. III. m. 5, 13d, 46-7 Hen. III. pt. ii. m. 1; *Mat. Paris, Chron. Maj.* v. 688, 695, 742; *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (R.S.), ii. 263-85, iii. 292 (cf. *Mon. Franc.* ii. 267 seq.); *Flor. Wigorn. Contin.* (=Taxter) ii. 177, 187, 191; *Gesta Abb. Mon. S. Albani* (Walsingham), i. 385-6; *Barthol. de Cotton*, p. 139.

shelter and protection to their leaders.¹ And other similar instances might be given.² A monastic annalist³ vents his feelings and those of his fellow-monks in the following entry under the year 1224: "Eodem anno O dolor! O plus quam dolor! O pestis truculenta! Fratres minores venerunt in Angliam."

Peculiarly galling to the monks must have been the inquiry into their appropriations of parish churches which Alexander IV. in 1261 entrusted to the friars. The Provincials of the Friars Preachers and Minor were each to send two friars to every diocese to find out and report what churches were appropriated by monasteries, what the annual revenues of each were, whether perpetual vicars had been appointed, and if so, at what salaries.⁴ Well might the monks denounce the upstart Orders as the "spies" of the Church.

The relations of friars to monks were confined

¹ *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ii. 335-52, iii. 294.

² *E.g.* the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and his tenants at Sandwich, *Litterae Cantuar.* (R.S.) i. 110; the abbot of Milton Abbas and his tenants near Dorchester, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 84, n. 1.

³ John Abbot of Peterborough in his *Chron. Petriburg.* ed. Jos. Sparke, *Hist. Angl. Script.* (iii.) p. 102. Abbot John's point of view may be inferred from his praises of Simon, prior of Spalding, († 1252), *e.g.* "Superborum rusticorum suorum adversus eum erigentium colla ita propria virtute culcavit, ut ex hoc liberi homines terrentur" (*ibid.* p. 112).

⁴ *Bull. Franc. Epitome*, ed. Eubel, p. 108; *Cal. Papal Letters*, i. 375. The bull ("Frequens nonnullorum praelatorum") is dated March 1; Alexander IV. died May 25, 1261.

to certain localities ; their relation to the bishops and parish priests affected the whole Church and were not satisfactorily settled during the Middle Ages. St. Francis wished his brethren to be humble helpers of the parish priests ; but his insistence on the avoidance of offences shows that offences had already come. “ If ” (he says in his Testament) “ I had as much wisdom as Solomon had, and if I should find poor secular priests, I would not preach against their will in the parishes in which they live ” ; and in the Rule of 1223 : “ The brethren must not preach in the diocese of any bishop when their doing so may be opposed by him.”

When the friars first came to England their relation to the existing ecclesiastical organization was undefined. Until they had churches of their own they attended the churches of the parishes in which they settled. Were they subject to episcopal control—jurisdiction and visitation—like most monasteries and hospitals ? Roger Niger, Bishop of London, claimed that they were, and demanded the oath of canonical obedience from Solomon, guardian of the London house. There was no hostility to the friars on his part : Brother Solomon was a friend of his “ and he held the Order in such reverence that he rose when any friar saluted him.” It was simply a legal question—of very great importance—which had not been decided. Agnellus immediately

referred to the Roman curia and obtained the decretal "Nimis Iniqua" in favour of the friars.¹

The bull "Nimis Iniqua" (the gist of which was incorporated in the decretals of Gregory IX., Lib. V., Tit. xxxi., "De Excessibus praelatorum," caps. xvi., xvii.) is dated August 28, 1231, and is addressed not only to the prelates of England, but to those of France and Germany, and probably of other countries. It is not confined to the question of episcopal jurisdiction, but mentions the various ways in which many prelates and others "betrayed by blind cupidity" disturbed the quiet of the Friars Minor. They insist on hearing the friars' confessions and imposing penances; on burying them in their churches and exacting burial fees; they deny them the use of a bell and consecrated cemetery and only permit them to celebrate masses at certain times; they limit the number of friars, candles and ornaments, and demand for their own use the offerings made at the daily masses of the friars; they compel the friars to come to their synods and submit to their constitutions; they threaten to hold chapters in the houses of friars, demanding an oath of fealty from their ministers and custodians; they excommunicate the friars' benefactors, and do their utmost to

¹ Eccleston, p. 75; *Bull. Franc.* i. 74-5. Cf. *ibid.* p. 290, A.D. 1241: prelates are forbidden to demand "obedientia manualis" from Friars Minor.

expel the friars unless they obey them in all these matters ; they endeavour to extort tithes of the produce of the friars' gardens and rents for their houses (as from the houses of Jews), "and in order that they may reduce them entirely to subjection they wish to appoint their ministers and custodians at their pleasure." The pope orders the prelates to desist entirely from these oppressions. The bull was reissued by Innocent IV., July 21, 1245, who, at the same time, appointed bishops in each province to act as "conservatores" of the friars. For England and Scotland, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Lincoln and Norwich were appointed conservatores ; for Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Ossory and Kildare.¹

The bull "*Nimis Iniqua*" assured to the Minorite Order the right of self-government and freedom from episcopal control. This was a necessary corollary from the centralized and world-wide organization of the Order. The principle of "*stabilitas loci*" which characterized all monastic Orders had no place among the Mendicants ; the friar was bound to no particular house, and owed obedience directly to the Minister-general of the whole Order. Their independence was further assured by the privilege of having oratories of their own in which they could preach to the people, and consecrated cemeteries in

¹ The conservatores varied from time to time.

which the friars might be buried. Gregory IX., however, in granting these rights expressly guards the rights of the parish priests; the friars might not receive tithes, firstfruits or offerings, nor bury any but their own brethren in their cemeteries.¹ Even these privileges seem to have caused some misgivings in the Order: "Brother Haymo, when he was provincial minister of England, said that a kind of storm swept over the Order ('quidam fluctus pertransivit ordinem') when the friars caused cemeteries and altars to be dedicated in their areas, because namely they cannot afterwards be converted to profane uses."² The tendency was to attach the friars too closely to particular places, and it was also probably realized that such grants, however carefully restricted, would lead to quarrels with the parish priests.

If the Order was independent of episcopal control, it was all the more necessary to define the relations of its members, in their external activities, to the parish priests. The controversies centred round three points—the right of the friars to preach, to hear confessions, and to bury in their churches persons not belonging to the Order.

The right to preach is implied in the Rule of 1223, which provides that no friar should preach

¹ *Bull. Franc.* i. 31, 58 (July 26, 1227; Feb. 1, 1230).

² Eccleston, pp. 107-8.

to the people unless he had been examined and approved by the Minister-general and had had the office of preaching conferred on him by the latter (powers subsequently delegated to provincial ministers).¹ But might any preacher duly qualified by his Order preach anywhere and at any time? The Rule made the consent of the bishop of the diocese necessary; and in his Testament, St. Francis (as we have seen) declared he would not preach in a parish against the will of the parish priest. Gregory IX. issued general exhortations to archbishops, bishops, and prelates of churches to allow friars duly approved by the provincial minister to preach in their parishes.² Such vague admonitions, which were not reinforced by any ecclesiastical punishments, left the conflicting claims of the two parties undefined, and they remained so during the pontificate of Gregory IX.

¹ Gregory IX. ("Quo elongati") allowed those who did not need examination to receive the office of preaching from the "discreti" of the province, without personal attendance on the Minister-general. In 1240 (Dec. 12) he authorized the provincial ministers and "diffinitores" in provincial chapter to examine and approve as preachers friars learned in the scriptures (*Bull. Franc.* i. No. 325). Cf. "Ordinem vestrum," 1245: the provincial minister and "diffinitores" in provincial chapter may examine and approve those who need examination, and the provincial minister may license those who, being instructed in the theological faculty and in the office of preaching, need no examination. The Constitutions of 1260 provide that no friar, even if examined according to the Rule, may preach if forbidden by his provincial minister (*Archiv f. L. u. K. Gesch.* vi. 107).

² *Bull. Franc.* i. p. 51 (Feb. 1, 1230), 127 (June 12, 1234).

Closely connected with preaching was the claim of the friars to hear confessions. Though it is not mentioned in the Rule, it is clear that friar-priests exercised this office very early. Thus at Paris Haymo of Faversham on Easter Sunday 1223—two days after he had entered the Order—"seeing the multitude of people in the parish church in which the friars heard divine service (for they had not yet a church of their own) said to the custodian, who was a layman, that if he dared he would like to preach to the people, lest perchance they should communicate when in mortal sin. The custodian therefore bade him in the name of the Holy Ghost to preach. He preached thereupon with such power that many deferred their communion until they had confessed to him. So he sat three days in the church and heard confessions and comforted the people greatly."¹ There seems to have been no opposition on the part of the parish priest; and Eccleston notes that Haymo, who came to England soon after Agnellus, was specially successful in winning the favour of prelates for the new Order by his charm and eloquence. Priests in the Order were rare in the early days; of the nine friars who came to England with Agnellus only one, Richard of Ingworth, was a priest. Further, the Lateran Council of 1215-16 had, by making confession to the parish priest, at least

¹ Eccleston, p. 35.

once a year, compulsory on all Christians, imposed a new and heavy duty on the secular clergy, which they were not generally trained to perform,¹ and if we consider that a large proportion of the parishes were held by non-resident clergy, or by men who were not in priests' orders, we shall realize that there was plenty of room for the friars both as preachers and confessors. Eccleston has a chapter "On the Institution of Confessors."² "There were also very many friars who, though they had not the office of preaching or lecturing, by the most gracious favour of prelates, at the command of the provincial minister, heard confessions, in diverse places, of both religious and seculars. Chief among them in London was Friar Solomon, who was the general confessor of both citizens and courtiers." Solomon's conscience pricked him on his death-bed because he had imposed too light penances on the rich. Another confessor was Maurice of Dereham, "who, when he had found a boy pining away with a hopeless sickness, heard his confession and enjoined him to say three Ave Marias every day and pray that the blessed Virgin

¹ It may be noted that several bishops at this time took measures to provide the clergy of their dioceses with an elementary treatise on confession: *e.g.* Alexander of Stavensby, Bishop of Coventry, in 1237; Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, 1240. These are printed in Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 642, 644-6, 669. Grosseteste wrote a "forma confitendi" and "de poenitentia" (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 6716). All these bishops were closely associated with the friars.

² Eccleston, pp. 75-8.

should obtain health for him in order that he could be a Friar Minor." Vincent of Worcester at Gloucester was father of the whole country, was loved by all as an angel, and was afterwards promoted to the office of preaching; he became confessor to Roger Wesham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. At Lynn flourished Geoffrey of Salisbury, "who was of such pity, sympathy, and compassion in hearing confessions that when he did not see the penitents showing proper signs of compunction, he moved them to weeping by his own tears and sighs; as happened in the case of the noble lord, Sir Alexander of Bassingbourn: when he was confessing as though he were merely narrating a tale, brother Geoffrey, weeping most bitterly, compelled him also to weep and by his merits and wholesome counsels induced him to resolve to enter the Minorite Order." These instances illustrate both the religious fervour of the new confessors, their tendency to too great leniency, and their proneness to use the confessional for the benefit of the Order. One sees already the grounds of objections later raised by moralists and by parents to the employment of friars as confessors; but there is no hint in Eccleston of disputes with the parish priests, either about preaching or hearing confessions, though he mentions quarrels with the Dominicans and the monks; and the bishops with hardly an exception were favourably disposed to the friars.

Grosseteste, describing the visitation of his diocese, writes : " At the commencement of my episcopate I began to go round through the various archdeaconries, and in them through the several rural deaneries, causing the clergy of each deanery to be called together on a certain day and in a certain place, and the people to be warned that at the same time they should be present with the children to be confirmed, and in order to hear the word of God and to confess. When clergy and people were assembled, I myself used to preach the word of God to the clergy, and a friar, either Preacher or Minor, to the people. Four friars at the same time were employed in hearing confessions and imposing penances."¹ Perhaps the only instance of episcopal opposition to the Friars Minor in England before the middle of the thirteenth century is that of Alexander of Stavensby to the settlement of the Franciscans in Chester, and this was due to his affection for the Dominicans.²

The year 1250 marks the turning point. Harmonious co-operation between friars and parish priests gives place to bitter contentions. The chief cause of the change was a disastrous

¹ " Propositio de visitatione diocesis suae " in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 347 ; F. S. Stevenson's *Rob. Grosseteste*, p. 130. Cf. *Lanercost Chron.* p. 43.

² Grosseteste, *Epist.* pp. 120-22. St. Dominic and his followers attended Alexander's lectures at Toulouse (Mortier, *Hist. des Maîtres Généraux*, i. 23-4).

privilege granted by Innocent IV. to the friars in the bull "Cum a nobis petitur" (Feb. 25, 1250).¹ This permitted the friars to bury in their churches and cemeteries any persons who desired it. Innocent declared that he granted the privilege in response to the prayers of the friars; it is difficult to believe that John of Parma, then Minister-general, approved of it, and it is probable that secular princes had brought their influence to bear on the friars or the pope.² It is certain that secular princes already eagerly coveted the right to be buried in the churches of Franciscans, to whose prayers they ascribed extraordinary efficacy. This privilege threatened one of the sources of income of the parish priests, and as the habit of establishing chantries and private masses grew, the secular clergy found their interests more and more opposed to those of the friars, while the connexion of powerful families with the parish church was weakened or destroyed, together with the moral influence as well as the pecuniary advantages (legacies,

¹ *Bull. Franc.* i. 537.

² According to Salimbene the Friars Minor for long refused burials in their churches, "from love of the clergy, wishing to have peace with them" (ed. Holder-Egger, p. 424): thus they refused to bury Raymond Berengar IV., Count of Toulouse, in their church at Aix († 1245). Apart from the burial of the murdered Patrick of Athol in the Franciscan Church at Haddington, *Lanercost Chron.* pp. 49-50 (which may be regarded as an act of charity), the earliest instance that I can find in the English province is the burial of the heart of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, at the Grey Friars, Oxford, 1272, but there are probably earlier instances.

anniversaries, etc.) which this connexion implied. From this time it was impossible to maintain that the friars "sought only spiritual things," as Gregory IX. had maintained when advocating their employment as preachers and confessors,¹ and we have a series of unedifying squabbles between friars and rectors of churches for the possession of corpses.² The friars, said a hostile chronicler,³ hung round the corpses of wealthy men, like dogs round carrion, each waiting greedily for his bit. A rhyming couplet current a little later declares that "papal bulls are disastrous to the friars and turn gentle and mild men into fighters":

Bullae papales sunt fratribus exitiales:

Qui quondam mites faciunt nunc praelia, lites.⁴

The most disastrous of all the bulls was "Cum a nobis petitur."

Proof that the relations between friars and secular clergy had hitherto been friendly and were now hostile is afforded by the bull "Etsi animarum" (November 21, 1254),⁵ and its reception by the friars. The bull is addressed to all the religious, but was meant to apply specially

¹ *Bull. Franc.* i. 59.

² *E.g.* the quarrel between the Friars Minor and the Cathedral Church of Worcester for the body of Henry Poche in 1289 (*Ann. Monast.* (R.S.) iv. 499-504). Cf. case at Gloucester in 1285; Peckham's *Register*, p. 905.

³ Rishanger (R.S.), p. 129.

⁴ *Ann. Monast.* iv. 506.

⁵ *Bull. Franc. Supplem.* (ed. Eubel) p. 259.

to the two Mendicant Orders. The pope refers in detail to the "grave and clamorous" complaints which reached him daily, that some of the religious were encroaching on the rights of the parish priests (leaving the parish priest like a solitary sparrow in his church, defrauded of his usual offerings); he therefore, while introducing nothing new, regulates the relations between the two in various particulars: thus the friars shall not admit to confession any persons except by consent of the parish priest, nor preach in their own churches except at certain times, nor preach in a parish church unless invited by the parish priest. Sentence of excommunication shall be incurred by any one transgressing any of these commands, and the execution of the sentence is entrusted to the diocesan bishop without appeal.

Innocent IV. was right in saying that he was not introducing anything new; the limitations here imposed were those usually imposed on the older monastic and military orders,¹ nor did they conflict with any papal privilege hitherto granted to the friars. The bull only forbade the unauthorized encroachments which had grown up with the approval of the papacy, the goodwill of the bishops, and without at any rate the active opposition of the secular clergy. It was, how-

¹ G. Schreiber, *Kurie u. Kloster im 12. Jahrhundert*, in Stutz's *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* (Stuttgart, 1910), esp. vol. ii. 105-38.

ever, opposed to the general spirit of papal policy towards the Mendicant Orders, and was a reversal of the centralizing tendency which had characterized the legislation of all the popes of the thirteenth century.

Both Orders regarded the bull as an attempt to destroy their rights; the stroke of paralysis which incapacitated Innocent the day after he had issued the decree was clearly the hand of God; and his death a few days later was attributed to the prayers of the Dominicans, and led to the popular petition: "From the prayers of the Dominicans good Lord deliver us." ¹

The bull was at once rescinded by the new pope, Alexander IV. But it was impossible to leave the relations between seculars and friars in the indefinite position previously existing,² for that had presupposed general goodwill, and now there was general hostility between the two. "If our staying in a parish," said Bonaventura, "depended on the will of the secular clergy, we should never stay long, as they would drive us out sooner than heretics or Jews." ³

¹ Salimbene, p. 419; Eccleston, p. 118; Thomas Cantiprat. *De Apibus*, ii. cap. x. (ed. 1597, p. 139); *Hist. Lit. de France*, xix. 197.

² This was clearly recognized by the Dominican Master, Humbert de Romans; see his letter in *Litterae Encycl.* (*Mon. Ord. Praed. Hist.* ed. Reichert) p. 21 seq.

³ *Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi), viii. 365.

The next experiment in papal policy, culminating in the bull "Ad fructus uberes" of Martin IV., 1281,¹ was to give the friars a free hand in the parishes and to deprive the bishops of all control over them. The series of bulls embodying this policy² rest on the newly developed theory that the pope, just as he is "universal ordinary," is also "proprius sacerdos" of every Catholic.³ If persisted in, the policy would have resulted either in the substitution of a regular, trained, and itinerant clergy for a secular, untrained, and resident clergy; or possibly in a revolt of the national churches against papal authority. Resistance on the part of the seculars became more and more pronounced throughout Western Europe. Pecham, as conservator of the privileges of the Friars Minor in the province of Canterbury, had to defend the friars from attacks in his own diocese, in the dioceses of London, Exeter, Worcester, and elsewhere. The clergy of Chester, Nottingham, Granby, Yarmouth are among those mentioned as resisting the claims of the friars at this time.⁴

¹ *Bull. Franc.* iii. 480. (Cf. *Lanercost Chron.* p. 107.)

² See bulls of Nov. 21, 1255; Jan. 20, 1259; May 13, 1259; Oct. 11, 1265.

³ Cf. *S. Bonaventurae Op. Omnia*, viii. 376. Roger Conway in his *Defensio Mendicantium*, cap. 2 (Goldast, *Monarchia*, ii. 1410 seq.), quotes a succinct statement of the theory from Johannes Andreae.

⁴ Peckham's *Register*, pp. 727, 877; *Epis. Reg. Exon.* (Quivil) pp. 328-9; *Epis. Reg. Wigorn.* (G. Giffard) p. 371; Barth. Cotton, Appendix, pp. 429-30 (R.S.).

The solution of the problem was due to Boniface VIII. To remove the serious and dangerous quarrels which had arisen in various parts of the world between the parish priests and the friars concerning preaching, hearing confessions, and the right of sepulture, Boniface VIII. issued the bull "Super cathedram," February 18, 1300.

This provided that—

(1) The friars shall have full right of preaching to clergy and people in their own churches and in public places—except at certain times. In parish churches the friars shall not preach except by invitation of the parish priest or command of the bishop.

(2) The friars shall choose from their members suitable persons to hear confessions. The provincials shall present the friars so elected to the bishop and humbly pray him to grant them the right to hear confessions of persons wishing to confess to them in his diocese. If the bishop refuses, the pope will grant the right. The number of confessors shall be regulated by the needs of the population.

(3) The friars shall have the right to bury in their churches those who desire it; but shall give to the parish priest a quarter of all offerings and legacies.

The bull "Super cathedram," though revoked by Benedict XI. on the ground that it en-

couraged instead of allaying controversies,¹ was incorporated in the Canon Law by Clement V., and proved a fair and statesmanlike compromise, which enabled the rival parties to live together for the next two centuries. It did not end the struggle, which at times became again acute. The recrudescence of the controversy in the time of Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, in the middle of the fourteenth century, was partly due to new problems created by the Black Death. Nor did the bull decide all the questions involved. Thus the questions whether a parishioner must confess once a year to his own parish priest, and if so, whether he must confess to him those sins which he had already confessed to a friar, were slurred over and were still debated in the fifteenth century.² Another of these undecided questions was: Who had the right to decide on the number of friar-confessors needed in each diocese—the bishop or the friars? Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, at once—in 1300—took this into his own hands, and when the provincial presented 15 or 18 friars from each convent, refused to license more than 4 or 6.³ If the other English bishops took the same line (which is as yet doubtful), one may estimate the number of friars licensed to hear confessions as

¹ *Bull. Franc.* v. 2. Cf. *Mon. Germ. Script.* xxiv. 256.

² *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 256.

³ *Linc. Epis. Registers*, Dalderby (Memo.), ff. 13^v-20.

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about 300 Franciscans and 300 Dominicans throughout England.¹

An interesting fact which emerges from the evidence is the great preponderance of priests in the Franciscan Order at this time, A.D. 1300 and later. Thus out of 21 friars who composed the convent of Grantham,² the provincial presented 15 for licence to hear confessions; ³ three-quarters of the convent were priests. This conclusion is also supported by an extant list of obits of friars for the years 1328 and 1334: ⁴ out of 144 friars, 117 were priests, and only 9 were *laici*. Contrast this with the first company of friars who came to England—out of 9 friars, 1 only was a priest and 5 were laymen—and one realizes the great transformation which had taken place.

The arguments for and against the employment of friars as confessors vary little from the time of William of St. Amour and Bonaventura to those of Armachanus and Wiclif.

Confession to a friar whom a penitent sees perhaps once a year or may never see again is easier than confession to a parish priest whom he

¹ Dalderby ultimately admitted 50 Dominican and 50 Franciscan confessors for the diocese of Lincoln, which contained 7 Dominican houses out of a total of 52, and 9 Franciscan houses out of a total of 54 in England and Wales. The houses of King's Langley (Dom.), Ware and Aylesbury (Fr.) were not yet founded.

² P.R.O. Excheq. Acct. 357 (4); Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 7966A, f. 23^b.

³ Dalderby, *Reg.* fol. 18.

⁴ Printed in Brit. Soc. Franciscan Studies, v. (*Collectanea Franc.* i. 141-58).

sees daily, but far less morally efficacious ; for the penitent does not feel the same shame for his sin and need for amendment.

The parish priest loses touch with his people and his authority is undermined.

The friars, sometimes through ignorance, sometimes to curry favour with the rich, grant absolution on easy terms ; thus the confessional is made an avenue to sin.

Alms which ought to go to the maintenance of parish churches, roads, and bridges are diverted to the houses of friars.¹

These points are also brought out with customary exaggeration in the popular poems of the late fourteenth century :

Thai say that thai destroye synne,
And thai mayntene men most therinne ;
For had a man slayn al his kynne,
Go shryve him at a frere,
And for lesse than a payre of shone
He wyl assoil him clene and sone
And say the synne that he has done
His saule shal never dere.²

Roger Conway, who replied to the *Defensio Curatorum* of Armachanus by the *Defensio fratrum Mendicantium*,³ confines himself to the legal aspect of the case—showing how completely the idea of privilege had superseded the idea of public

¹ See especially Armachanus, *Defensorium Curatorum*, printed in E. Brown's *Fascic. Rerum Expet.* ii. 466 seq.

² *Pol. Poems* (R.S.), i. 266 ; cf. ii. 34.

³ Printed in Goldast's *Monarchia*.

merits in the official mind of the fourteenth-century Franciscans. The best defence of the friars will be found in the writings of Bonaventura.¹

His plea that "labourers are few" would hardly apply to England. There were plenty of churches and plenty of secular priests in England. Pluralists, however, and others were legally disqualified from holding benefices with the cure of souls and their ministrations rendered invalid; and conscientious parishioners must often have been in doubt as to the efficacy of the absolution they received from their parish priest or his vicar.²

But apart from this legal question many secular priests were morally and intellectually unsuitable. John of Wales, as well as Bonaventura, implies that betrayal of the secrets of the confessional was not uncommon among secular priests. Further, to quote Bonaventura: "When a priest is in the habit of inducing people to sin in confession, the parishioners should not go to him on account of the danger to both." "Many of these priests are so vicious that an honest woman fears to lose her character if she whispers secretly with one of them."³ England, where, as a German Franciscan *c.* 1280 admits,⁴

¹ Especially "Quare Fratres Minores praedicent et confessiones audiant," *Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi), viii. 375-85.

² *Ibid.* pp. 379, 380.

³ *Ibid.* p. 381.

⁴ Printed, *ibid.* p. 382, as an appendix to Bonaventura's treatise.

“the clergy behaved as clergy should,” had a better record than most countries in the Middle Ages. But it is worth noting that during the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries the bishops in many dioceses made a point of insisting that the confessors to nuns should be chosen, not from the secular clergy, but from the Mendicant Orders, especially from the Minorites.¹

That the friars diminished the respect paid to the parish priest is admitted by the friars and justified by Bonaventura, who considered it a duty of the friars to protect the people from the tyranny of priests. “The clergy exaggerate their rights over their subjects, . . . and if we added to this by frightening them still more and magnifying the power of the clergy over them, we should further provoke the audacity of the clergy, and take the heart out of their timid subjects.”²

The negligence or ignorance of the parish priests was perhaps the chief and most widely applicable argument brought forward on behalf of the friars. Auricular confession only became

¹ Thus Archbishop Giffard, 1276, recommended the Cistercian nuns to choose friar-confessors (*Register*, Surtees Soc. p. 295). Other examples are Hampole, Yorks, 1267, 1314 (*V.C.H. Yorks*); Sinningthwaite, 1276, 1315 (*ibid.*); Lyngbroke, Hereford, 1279 (*Reg. Th. de Cantilupe*); Godstowe, 1280 (*Reg. Abp. Peckham*, p. 850); Rosedale, Yorks, 1306 (*V.C.H. Yorks*, p. 174); Arden, 1306 (*ibid.*); Moxby, 1314 (*ibid.*); St. Clement, York, 1317 (*ibid.*); Polsloe, 1319, 1332 (*Exeter Epis. Reg.*, Stapeldon, p. 317; Grandison, p. 661); Canonsleigh, 1332 (Grandison, p. 661); Canington, Somerset, 1336 (Drokensford's *Register*, p. 259).

² *Bonav. Opera Omnia*, viii. 372.

general and compulsory after the Lateran Council of 1215, and the clergy so far had very little professional education. A large number of handbooks on confession and penance were issued in the thirteenth century; the authors of these, so far as they can be identified, are mostly Mendicant Friars.¹ In this as in other respects they instructed the seculars. It is probable that compulsory auricular confession would never have been enforced without the friars. A light penance which people would perform was better than a heavy one which they would not.² Many persons refused altogether to confess to their parish priests. Given the policy of the Church, it was better that the lead in carrying it out should be taken by men who made a careful study of the questions involved.

In the confessional, even more than in the pulpit, the friars made a direct appeal to the individual conscience. Pecham at the beginning

¹ Several among the Franciscan lectors at Oxford compiled such books: e.g. Adam Marsh, *Summa de Penitentia* (mentioned in old catalogue of Christ Church, Canterbury, ed. M. R. James, p. 71); John of Wales, *Summa de Penitentia*; John Pecham, *Formula Confessionum*,—the last specially rich in “*memoria technica*” lines.

² John Myrc also urges this in his *Instructions for Parish Priests*:

“Better hyt ys wyth penaunce lutte
Into purgatory a mon to putte
Than wyth penaunce overmyche
Sende hym to helle putte.”

“*Exempla*” on the efficacy of gentleness on the part of confessors are not infrequent; e.g. *Catalogue of Romances in Brit. Mus.* iii. 84, 505.

of his *Formula Confessionum*¹ makes the penitent decide for himself whether his act is sinful or not, insisting that the penitent should confess "only those sins of which his own conscience accuses him."

The real influence of the friars was no doubt greater than the limited number of confessors among them would seem to imply, and this real influence was exaggerated in the popular imagination. Thus the Peasant Revolt was attributed to them;² they had used the confessional to stir up people against lords, and lords against people—with equal impartiality. It was admitted by contemporaries that through their opportunities as confessors "the friars beyond all others know the state of the world in our days."³ And it is this knowledge of the sins, weaknesses, temptations, and difficulties of the various classes of society, acquired largely through the confessional, that makes their collections of sermon-notes so valuable for the social history of the later Middle Ages. Whatever judgement may be formed of the work of the friars as confessors in parishes, where their appearance necessarily involved rivalry and strife, there can be no doubt that in extraparochial spheres they supplied a want. They went forth as confessors to the armies in

¹ MS. Florence, Bibl. Naz., *Conventi Soppressi*, F. 6, No. 855.

² *Fasciculus Zizaniorum* (R.S.), p. 294.

³ Pierre Dubois, *De recap. Terrae Sanctae* (ed. Langlois), p. 51.

the West, as well as to the crusading hosts in the East, and brought to many a soldier peace of mind and the assurance of salvation.¹

¹ *Hist. Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers* (R.S.), p. 143 (A.D. 1300). Golubovich, *Biblioteca Biobibliografica*, i. 266; and the bull of Alexander IV., March 29, 1257, *ibid.* ii. 391.

Cf. *Liber Exemplorum* (Br. Soc. Fr. Studies), pp. 26-7; *Catalogue of Romances in Brit. Mus.* iii. 665; and the story of the Minorite bishop at Neville's Cross in 1346; *Lanerc. Chron.* pp. 350-51. An *exemplum* in Brit. Mus. Burney MS. 361, f. 155^b, takes it for granted that the confessors to condemned prisoners would be friars.

IV

POPULAR PREACHING : THE “ FASCICULUS MORUM ”

ON September 20, 1329, Giles, son and heir of John Mares of North Ashby or Ashby Mears, Co. Northampton, made his proof of age. Among the witnesses, “ Robert Abovetheweye aged 40 years and more knows that the said Giles was twenty-one years of age on the eve of St. Nicholas last, because, when the said Giles was baptized, he stood there in the church and heard his mass and heard a preaching friar preach the same day in the said church and saw the said Giles at the church door to be baptized.” ¹

To remember the fact of hearing a sermon for twenty-one years either implies that the sermon was a remarkable one, or that a sermon by a friar in the church of Ashby Mears was a very rare event. The latter alternative is unlikely. It was of course easy for a parson to refuse leave to a friar to preach in his parish church, and it can rarely have been worth while for the Mendi-

¹ Cal. of *Inq. p. m.* vii. p. 195.

cants to appeal to the pope or even the bishop for power to force their way into a country church against the parson's will. Thus the parishioners of Colyton, Exeter diocese, in 1301 reported that their vicar is a good man and preaches to them as well as he knows how, but inadequately they think. His predecessor used to invite friars to instruct them on the salvation of their souls, but he does not care for friars—and they request that the Dean and Chapter will correct him in this matter.¹ But Ashby Mears is not far from Northampton, where all the four Orders had houses, and it is unlikely that it would escape their periodical missions. It was a custom of the friars to hold what we should call missions, frequently, throughout the country. Thus the synodal constitutions of Exeter in 1287² and Winchester about 1295³ decree that the Friars Preachers and Minor, when they pass through the parishes in Lent or at other times to hear the confessions of the faithful and enjoin penances on those who wish to confess to them, having first obtained permission from their own priest, shall not be hindered; “and since the preaching of these friars and their holy life are

¹ Printed in Hingeston-Randolph's *Register of Walter de Stapledon*, p. 111, from Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, No. 3673.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 134.

³ *Reg. Joh. de Pontissara* (C. and Y. Soc.), p. 222; apparently reissued by Bishop Woodlock, c. 1308; Wilkins, ii. 294.

known to have produced no small fruit in the Church of God, we order that when they pass through our diocese they shall everywhere be welcomed reverently and honourably." Besides Lent, Advent would be a natural season for missions; and the *Lanercost Chronicle* has preserved a glimpse of an early Advent mission sent out from Oxford in the early days of the Order. "It happened that when Christmas was approaching the superior called the friars together and sent them out two and two to sow the wholesome seed of the Lord through the country. Two of them came to the neighbouring wood and took a rough path over frozen mud and snow, while blood marked their footsteps without their noticing it. The younger one said to the elder: 'Father, would you like me to sing to lighten your journey?' On his consenting, he struck up the '*Salve Regina Misericordiae*'—and after singing it through, he said to his companion as though asking for applause: 'Brother, was that anthem well sung?'"¹ A very curious account of a preaching tour in Ulster about 1270 is preserved: the preachers were followed from place to place by a crowd of people eager to earn the indulgences which the friars distributed.² The friars in Europe seem to have varied their methods (too much) to

¹ *Lanercost Chron.* p. 31; cf. *ibid.* pp. 107-8, a Christmas preaching tour in Annandale.

² *Liber Exemplorum* (Brit. Soc. Fr. S.), pp. 98-9.

suit their audiences—just as missionary friars to the Tartars adopted Tartar dress and way of living.¹ In addition to these regular missions, others were organized on special occasions, *e.g.* for the preaching of Crusades,² when the whole country was mapped out into mission stations. Thus in the diocese of York in 1276 Archbishop Giffard instructs the archdeacons, deans, rectors, etc., to help the Friars Minor preaching the Crusade.³ In 1291 Archbishop Romanus sent round to all the priors of the Friars Preachers and wardens of the Friars Minor in the diocese of York asking them to send friars to a number of specified places on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross to preach the Crusade. Thirty-five different centres are mentioned by name and one other, “where they think there will be the largest congregation of people in Coupland.”⁴ In 1315 Archbishop Greenfield calls on the friars to preach and rouse people against the Scottish invasion.⁵ In the latter case they would be recruiting agents; in the former, *i.e.* in preaching the Crusade, they would be partly recruiting agents but quite as much tax-gatherers, and one

¹ See the engravings of the figures on the tomb of Fr. Oderic de Pordenone in the Cathedral at Udine in Cordier's *Les Voyages du Frère Odoric de Pordenone*, Paris, 1891.

² Cf., *e.g.*, Close, 36 Hen. III. m. 22d (1252); Pat. 39 Hen. III. m. 4d (1255); Mat. Paris, *Chron. Majora*, iii. 287, 312, v. 73; *Worc. Epis. Reg.*, G. Giffard (ed. Willis Bund), A.D. 1275, etc.

³ *Reg. Abp. Giffard* (Surtees Soc.), 264.

⁴ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (R.S.) 93, 95. ⁵ *Ibid.* 238-9.

hears of large sums of money derived from the Holy Land "redemptions and obventions" being collected by the provincials of the Friars Preachers and Minors. Such collection of taxes was imposed on the friars by the papacy against their will, and they earnestly protested against it.¹

The collection of money for the friars at any preachings of friars was definitely forbidden in the Statutes of the Franciscan Order.² It must have been difficult to draw a clear distinction between what was "for friars" and what was not. It would appear that in Chaucer's time the friar after preaching collected what folk in church would give him (probably in money), and then proceeded to beg alms in kind from every house; his companion friar wrote down the names of givers on tablets, while a sturdy lad, apparently taken on for the occasion, carried the offerings in a sack.³ In earlier times a certain amount of scandal was caused by the friars' free behaviour. Eccleston gives an instance: "A warden after preaching to the people made jokes with a monk after dinner in presence of a secular. The secular told a friar privately that this was improper behaviour in a prelate and preacher. The warden said to me," adds Eccleston, "that he would rather have been speared through the middle of his ribs

¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, i. 445, etc.; *Mat. Paris, Chron. Maj.* iv. 9, 133-4, 612; v. 261.

² *A.L.K.G.* vi. 34.

³ *The Somnour's Tale.*

than have given such an example.”¹ There was evidently some competition among the inhabitants for the honour of entertaining the friars on their preaching journeys. “In the days when Albert of Pisa was provincial,” says Eccleston,² “two very famous friars came to the house of a franklin, who entertained them honourably and set abundant food before them. And as they were sitting at dinner the rector of the church came in, blaming them for not coming to his house; and when he would have compelled them to eat the meat set before them, and could not overcome their moderation, he said angrily, ‘Eat, eat, for cold is killing your bodies and gluttony is killing our souls,’ and he rose and went out.” The permission to eat all manner of meats that were set before them, which was contained in the Franciscan Rule (cap. iii.), was a stumbling-block and rock of offence to both seculars and religious,³ and was one of the points on which the Dominicans claimed superiority over the Franciscans.⁴ The enemies of the latter indeed accused them of neglecting out-of-the-way villages and preferring to preach in places where they were assured of a good dinner.⁵ A remark-

¹ *Tractatus Fr. Thomae de Eccleston*, ed. Little (Paris, 1909), p. 96.

² *Ibid.* p. 103. Cf. *Lanercost Chron.* pp. 107-8.

³ Cf. the sarcastic allusion in *Polit. Songs* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 145.

⁴ *Pecham contra Kilwardby*, Brit. Soc. Fr. S. ii. 129-30.

⁵ *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi), viii. 370.

able passage in the *Ordinarium* of Friar John of Wales, a treatise intended for regulars and especially for members of his own Order, lends some support to this and other charges. "Many who go out under pretext of preaching are rather eager to make wills, to bury corpses, and to manage great men's business. . . . Nor is it right that a preacher should pass by the poor without preaching to them, though refreshments are not provided. They should rather imitate St. Cuthbert, who preached mainly in out-of-the-way villages."¹ Bonaventura's reply to the question, Why do friars more often preach in towns than in the country? and to the insinuations implied in the question may be summarized. (1) The harvest is plenteous but suitable labourers are few; there are not enough of us to do everything. (2) Where population is very scattered it is impossible to bring the people to one place. (3) Except on feast days the people are at work and could not attend. (4) In many places food would be lacking; one friar might be willing and able to endure want for a time, but his companion perhaps could not, and if any hearers came from elsewhere, they, too, would be in want of food. (5) In towns and large villages many can assemble and be supported, and the more the numbers the greater the hope of results.

¹ Jo. Wallensis, *Ordinarium Vitae Religiosae*, pars iii. cap. 3 (ed. Lyons, 1511, fol. ccxlviii.).

(6) The towns give us most alms, so we owe them more spiritual service. (7) But we ought not to neglect out-of-the-way places. "I do not excuse of the sin of negligence those preachers and confessors who, for bodily comfort, frequent the places where there are good lodgings and hospitality, and are unwilling for the salvation of brethren to turn aside to poor little villages, and there, for Christ's sake, endure for a while the poverty which the inhabitants endure always."¹

Eccleston was filled with admiration of the early friars, who went to "places which nowadays are called desolate"² without a murmur. The heroic age was past when Bonaventura and Eccleston wrote. The friar liked a crowd, and was not expected in the ordinary way to expose himself to great privations, though many of them did.

It is not without interest to note that the Provincial of English Dominicans, Robert Kilwardby, suggested that the utility of the Franciscans as preachers was impaired by excessive austerity on the one hand and too much comfort and liberty on the other, and he contrasts this condition with the Dominican practice. "The brethren of our Order (*i.e.* Dominican) are not hindered in the work of edifying their neighbours by the pain arising from going barefoot in bitter cold, nor do they have the comfort of going

¹ *Determinationes Quaestionum circa Regulam Fratrum Minorum*, pars ii. qu. xix. (*Opera Omnia*, ed. Quaracchi, tom. viii.).

² Eccleston, pp. 32-3.

barefoot in summer; and travelling preachers of our Order do not enjoy the delicacies of the tables of seculars.”¹ Pecham replied to these insinuations with his usual vigour. “Where have you seen, or heard from anybody but a liar, that Friars Minor have ever been kept back from going to preach by the storms of winter—especially as they are allowed by the Rule to wear shoes? Ask the Tartars, Saracens, Greeks, and barbarians, and you will find that Friars Minor have laboured for the Church in every corner of the world no less than your friars. And where have you seen delicately nurtured men in summer taking off their shoes and making a day’s march barefoot for the comfort of it? Perhaps you want to reflect on those friars who, from weakness, wear shoes in winter, as the Rule allows, when necessity compels, and give up wearing them in summer, when the necessity is past. . . . You insinuate further *they* go forth for the sake of delicate food, who save their hosts trouble and expense by eating what is set before them, in accordance with the rule of Christ.”²

So far we have been considering the work of the “*fratres exeuntes*”—wandering preachers; in a fine phrase of Pecham’s,³ “the wheels of God’s chariot,” carrying God throughout the land,

¹ *Fr. Joh. Pecham Contra Kilwardby* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, ii.), p. 129.

² *Ibid.* pp. 129-30.

³ *Pecham Tractatus Pauperis* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, ii.), p. 24.

preaching in parish churches, cemeteries, streets, and market-places. Of no less importance were the regular sermons of the friars in their own churches, for which a new form of architecture was evolved, suitable for holding the large congregations who came to hear the Word, rather than for the liturgical processions, whose needs had hitherto dictated the features of monastic and cathedral churches. Sermons were given not only on Sundays and festivals, but on rainy days; when people took shelter in the friars' churches, the friars seized the opportunity to preach to them, as we hear from Bishop Pecocke: ¹ "As for justifying of the large and wide churches which religious persons, especially of the begging religions, make,—so that therein be not overgreat curiosity, gayness, preciosity, or costiousness,—sufficeth and is enough this: that thereby the more multitude of persons may be received together for to hear therein preachings to be made in rainy days: and also that thereby in other whiles the greater multitude may be the more eased in their devotions making to God, whiles they stand or sit or kneel at a distance each from other, and not one such is nigh at another's cheek; ² and also that thereby in other whiles the great multitudes come thither in rainy

¹ *Repressor* (R.S.), p. 553.

² Cf. the evidence of the mayor and aldermen of Coventry in 1538 as to the value of friars' churches in time of plague; *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, XIII. ii. 153.

days after mid-day, for to counsel with their friends and with their wise counsellors about making of accords and about redressing of wrongs and about other virtuous deeds.”¹

The Franciscans attached great importance to preaching. St. Bernardino of Siena held attendance at sermons even more valuable than attendance at mass. “If of these two things you can only do one—either hear the mass or hear the sermon—you should let the mass go rather than the sermon.”² The friars, laying such stress on the sermon, seem to have allowed themselves considerable latitude in shortening the office, and the seculars complained at the Council of Lyons in 1274 that people preferred the short masses of the friars and neglected the ordinary services.³ It seems clear that church-going increased in the later Middle Ages, and it is reasonable to attribute the growth of this practice to the influence of the friars.

That the Franciscans’ preaching was effective was universally admitted, but opinions differed as to the nature of their influence. Grosseteste,

¹ An instance of the use of the Greyfriars Church in London for an illegal deal in corn in 1364 will be found in Riley’s *Memorials of London*, p. 317.

² Ferrers Howell, *St. Bernardino of Siena*, p. 219. Cf. the Dominican, Humbertus de Romanis, *De eruditione praedicatorum*: “Christ only once heard mass; there is no evidence of His having confessed; but He laid great stress on prayer and preaching, especially preaching” (*Maxima Bibliotheca veterum patrum*, etc. xxv. 426-567; E. Michael, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, ii. 106).

³ Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vi. 113.

writing to Gregory IX. in 1238, speaks of the "inestimable benefits accruing to our people" through the Friars Minor. "They illuminate our whole country with the bright light of their preaching and teaching. . . . If your Holiness could see with what devotion and humility the people run to hear from them the word of life, to confess their sins, to be instructed in the rules of living, and what improvement the clergy and the regulars have gained by imitating them, you would indeed say that 'upon them that dwell in the valley of the shadow of death hath the light shined.'"¹

Wiclif accused them of flattering the great and not reproving their sins, and of not preaching the Gospel. "As anemtis prechyng, men knowen wel that freris wile flateren and spare to reprove scharpely synnes of grete men for drede of los of worldly goodis or frendischipe or fauour; and so for loue of here stynkyng bely thei laten the fend strangle meny soulis. . . . And zit thei tellen not schortly ne pleynely the gospel, and vices and vertues and peynes and ioie, but maken longe talis of fables or cronyelis, or comenden here owen nouelries."²

The author of *Piers Plowman* lays stress on the contentiousness of the friars' sermons and their quarrels with the seculars. "Wrath" was once a friar, and stirs up the quarrels :

¹ *Rob. Grosseteste Epistolae* (R.S.), p. 180.

² Matthew, *Unprinted English Works of Wyclif*, p. 50.

Now that priests have perceived how friars claim part,
These prebendaries preach and deprave the friars.
Then friars find fault as the folk bear witness
And preach to the people in places around ;
I, Wrath, with them rove and teach them to rail.
Thus clerks of the church one another contemn.¹

Later on the Observant Friars left a more favourable impression, to judge from the fine poem "God spede the Plough" (c. 1500).

And yet amongst other, we may not forgete
The poore Obseruauntes that been so holy ;
They muste amongis vs haue corne and mete,
They teche vs alwaye to fle from foly,
And liue in vertue full devowtely,
Preching dayly sermondys inough
With good examples full graciously.²

If we attempt to obtain a first-hand knowledge of the preaching of English Franciscans we are met by the difficulty of finding sermons ; while Latin sermons "ad clerum" abound, none in English or Anglo-French which can be certainly ascribed to Franciscans can be found for the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, and few for the fifteenth. We may perhaps extract the gist of the sermons which the Franciscans preached in support of Simon de Montfort, and which so scandalized the monk of Westminster,³ from the

¹ *Vision of Piers the Plowman*, done into modern English by Skeat (1905), p. 72 ; *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, part ii. (E.E.T.S. 1869), p. 64. Cf. similar accusation against the Lollards in *Political Poems* (R.S.), i. 234.

² Ed. by Skeat, E.E.T.S., orig. series 30, 1867 (p. 71).

³ *Flores Historiarum* (R.S.), iii. 266.

Song of Lewes—but what would we not give for a collection of these sermons? Though we hear of many “famous preachers,” we have no evidence of any one who can be placed beside Berthold of Regensburg in Germany or Bernardino of Siena in Italy. But if sermons in the vulgar tongue are lacking, there are many collections of materials for the use of preachers still extant which were compiled by English Franciscans. The popular title of one such collection—not an English one—is “Dormi secure”:¹ in other words, Do not worry about your sermon to-morrow; there are plenty to choose from in this book. The existence of so many of these collections may have checked the growth of preachers of the highest rank among the English Franciscans. The most famous of these is the *Gesta Romanorum*, but as this was most probably put together by a German Franciscan (c. 1340) largely from English materials, I shall not discuss it but go on to the essentially English compilations.

Among them may be mentioned:

(1) A *Liber exemplorum* compiled by an English friar (probably a native of Warwickshire) in Ireland about 1275—the earliest specimen. Of this only one defective MS. is known to exist; it

¹ The compiler was John of Werden, a Franciscan of Cologne, who flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century. Hain notes twenty-five editions before 1500; the title is explained in the prologue: “eo quod absque magno studio facilliter possint incorporari et populo praedicari.”

is in the Cathedral Library at Durham, and has been edited for the British Society of Franciscan Studies.¹ It is a collection of stories for the use of preachers and is divided into two parts ; the first treats of " Things Above," namely, the life, passion, and resurrection of Christ, the body of Christ, the Cross, the mercy of the Saviour, the nativity, conception, festivals, and miracles of the Virgin, Angels, and St. James ; of the sixty chapters composing it, fifteen are devoted to the Sacrament of the body of Christ, and sixteen to the miracles of the Virgin. The second part treats of things below, arranged in alphabetical order—namely, " accidia," advocates, avarice, baptism, charity to God, charity to neighbours, evil clerics, carnal thoughts, confession, " conjugium " (marriage), contentions, " contra male decimantes " (tithes), detraction, delay, on those who do injury to churches, alms, excommunication, wicked executors, against those who labour on festivals, on faith, on sons who behave badly to parents, on theft, on the joy of heaven, vain-glory, gluttony, humility, indulgences, on injury to innocent persons, envy, anger, judgment, oaths, good speech, games, luxury (=sensuality), merchants, mercy, and memory of death. Here the MS. ends in the letter M. Ten chapters deal with alms, seventeen with " luxuria," one only is devoted to faith.

¹ *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium*, ed. A. G. Little, 1908.

(2) *Speculum laicorum*, compiled in the archiepiscopate of John Pecham (1279–1292) by an English friar, probably a Franciscan, who seems to have been active in Kent and the east of England. Eighteen MSS. are noted by Rev. Father Welter, who has recently edited the work ;¹ one dates from the end of the thirteenth century, two from the fourteenth, the rest from the fifteenth. All appear to be of English origin ; the earliest belonged at one time to the Cistercian abbey of Cambron in Hainault ; another belonged to a secular clerk.

The author dedicates his work to his former fellow-scholar and now fellow-friar, who had recently been appointed to the care of souls and had asked him to write something suitable for the instruction of the laity ; he has, therefore, for the honour of God and the education of the ignorant who cannot digest theories, collected from the legends and writings of the fathers, from some events of past and present times, and from examples or analogies from natural history, not pearls but husks to feed the sheep. To facilitate reference the materials are arranged in alphabetical order, beginning with (1) “Abstinence” and ending with (87) “Usurers.” Each chapter contains (1) a definition and subdivisions of the

¹ *Le Speculum Laicorum*, ed. par J. Th. Welter, Paris, 1914 ; see pp. ix., 167. The list could probably be enlarged ; e.g. there is a copy of part of the *Spec. Laicorum* in Eton Coll. MS. 34.

subject, (2) quotations from authorities, (3) illustrative stories or "exempla."

(3) *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon, frère Mineur*, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith and Paul Meyer, 1889. These were compiled in French by an English Franciscan soon after 1320; two MSS. are extant, and a third (incomplete) containing a Latin translation: all are of the fourteenth century. In one of the MSS. the "contes" are described as "metaphors," which is a more accurate description. Each of the 145 chapters (with very few exceptions) begins with a fact or fiction from natural history, which is then moralized; an illustrative "fabula" or "narratio" is generally appended; a fable, meaning a story in which the actors are animals; a "narratio," a story in which the actors are human beings. This collection differs from those already described in being written in French, in being arranged in no systematic order, and in the prominence given to analogies from natural history or "the properties of things."

(4) *Fasciculus Morum*. This has not been edited.¹ Of twenty-one MSS.² noted, eleven are

¹ I believe an edition is being prepared by Miss Yvonne Stoddard of Bryn Mawr College.

² The MSS. are as follows (all fifteenth-century unless otherwise stated):

OXFORD: I. Bodleian: Bodley, 187, 332 (sec. xiv. ex.), 410, 687 (belonged to Thomas Kardifi); Laud. Misc. 111 (ascribed to Robert Silke), 213 (ascribed (1) to John Spiser, (2) to Robert Selke), 568 (ascribed to Robert Silke); Rawl. C. 670 (sec. xiv. ex.).

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in Oxford; eight others elsewhere in England. Of the two remaining MSS., one is in the Ottoboni Collection in the Vatican, but, like many of the Ottoboni MSS., it probably belonged to the Franciscans of Cambridge;¹ the other (now, I believe, in America) was formerly in the Franciscan convent of Würzburg, but it was transcribed at Oxford in 1412 by a German student, Friar John Sintram of Würzburg, who was then studying here.² Probably most of the MSS. belonged to

II. *Colleges*: Lincoln, 52; Magdalen, 93 (extracts made by John Dygoun, recluse of Sheen); Corpus Christi, 218 (sec. xiv. ex.) (ascribed to Robert Selk).

CAMBRIDGE: St. John's Coll., 159 (belonged to Richard Lepar, chaplain of Foston on the Wolds, near Driffeld, Yorks, 1472); Peterhouse, 213 (given by John Warkeworth, who bought it in 1463); Caius, 71 ("habeat collegium S. Marie Cantabrig."), 364 ("y^{is} longyth to y^e chauntry," probably in dioc. of Norwich).

Brit. Museum Add. 6716 (extracts or summary).

Durham Univ., Bishop Cosin's Library, V. iv. 2 (written and owned by Thomas Oliphant, chaplain, 1477).

Worcester Cathedral, Q. 3, and F. 19 (beginning missing).

Eton Coll. 34 (written by William Sybbe, chaplain of parish of Wisbech, 1443).

Vatican, Ottoboni, 625.

Würzburg, Sintram's copy (see note 2 below).

Besides these twenty-one extant MSS., St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, possessed two copies (Nos. 736, 837), and Syon Monastery apparently five (N. 34, 35, 74; O. 58, 63). Miss Bateson was wrong in identifying the *Fasc. Morum* of the Syon Catalogue with the *Fasc. Morum* of Henry Boort, printed at Antwerp c. 1515. The latter has nothing in common with our *Fasc. Morum* except the title.

¹ See Mr. Bannister's article in *Collectanea Franciscana*, i. (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies).

² This MS. was formerly in the possession of Mr. Robert Steele; the following are extracts from notes which he kindly supplied: "Liber iste intitulatur fasciculus morum et est scriptus in Anglia oxoniis per fratrem Johannem Sintram de herbippoli"; "Librum

English Franciscan houses; but five certainly belonged to secular chaplains or secular colleges, and one to a recluse.

The author was a Franciscan, named, according to one MS., John Spiser; according to others, Robert Silke or Selk.¹ He dedicates his work to his beloved brother and chosen companion, at whose request "I have collected from various treatises a poor little bundle of vices and virtues for your comfort and the advantage of the simple." The work opens with a reference to the Rule of St. Francis: "As it is laid down in the Rule of our blessed Father Francis,² we are bound to preach to the people and announce to them vices and virtues, punishment and glory, with brevity of speech; therefore we will begin with vices and end with virtues."

istum scripsit frater Johannes Sintram dum erat studens oxoniis"; "Tabula ista facta et finita per fratrem Johannem Sintram lectorem in Halle anno mccccxvi." Sintram, though a bad scribe, was an indefatigable copyist, and gave his MSS. to his convent at Würzburg, where a few of them still remain. One is in the library of University College, London.

¹ Laud. Misc. 213: "de compilacione fratris Johannis Spiser ordinis minorum," followed by "Tabula super librum qui intitlatur fasciculus morum quem composuit frater Robertus Selke minor." Laud. Misc. 111 and 568 attribute the work to Rob. Silke; C.C.C. Oxford, 218, to Robert Selk. The other MSS. give no author's name. A Robert Sulks or Sellack, O.F.M. of Hereford, was ordained acolyte and subdeacon in 1371 (*Heref. Epis. Reg.*, W. Courtenay, pp. 32, 40). If this is Robert Silke or Selke, he was probably a reviser, not the original compiler.

² Three of the MSS., Laud. Misc. 568, Peterhouse 213, and Eton 34, omit the reference to St. Francis, and read "in regula (or "regulis") sanctorum patrum." Two of these MSS. belonged to seculars.

The work is divided into seven parts, each treating of a vice and its counteracting virtue : Part I. on pride and humility ; Part II. on anger and patience ; Part III. on envy and charity (this includes chapters on the life and death of Christ, the sending of the Holy Ghost, and the Blessed Trinity) ; Part IV. on avarice and voluntary poverty ; Part V. on “accidia” and the means by which it can be overcome ; these include (as well as “good occupation”) the mass, penance, confession, prayer, alms, faith (which suggests a chapter on sorcery), prudence, hope, temperance, charity, and fortitude ; Part VI. on gluttony and sobriety ; Part VII. on sensuality (“luxuria”) and chastity.

The date of composition is not very certain ; it was before the end of the fourteenth century, as two of the extant MSS. date from this period, and it was after the accession of Edward I. In the chapter on the advantages which come to those truly confessing their sins, the writer tells the story of a knight on the continent who, though living on affectionate terms with his wife, was led to commit an act of adultery ; on confessing and being truly contrite he was (against his will) let off with the very light penance of saying five Ave Marias. “The said knight coming to the siege of Kenilworth Castle in the time of King Henry, father of the most illustrious Edward, on the king’s side, told this story to the

friars of Coventry, asking them to publish it in their sermons.”¹ Elsewhere he describes the shield of arms of the king of England (he often makes use of heraldic terms): “gestum de minio, anglice goulds, cum tribus leopardis transeuntibus de auro puro et bene”—“gules, three lions (or leopards) passant, or.”² This points to the period before 1340. There are not many references to definite historical events, but the following passage seems to point to some recent and terrible occurrences: “Consider the envy of the great and others, how each one tries to snatch from the other whatever he possesses. Do we not see—but God forbid that we should ever see it again—that if any one is in favour with the king or another great lord the envy of the others is so great that they never cease to speak evil of him, and say that he is a traitor to the kingdom, in order to deceive the king, and so on until they have brought him to death?”³ The passage suggests the reign of Edward II. as the time of the composition. And other passages strengthen this conjecture. In some of the MSS. St. Thomas Aquinas is referred to simply as Thomas without the Saint.⁴ The original may have been written

¹ Bodl. 410, f. 61^r; Laud. Misc. 213, f. 110^r. Eton 34, f. 59^v, reads “conventus” for “Coventrie.”

² Eton MS. 34, f. 68^r.

³ Eton MS. 34, f. 18^v.

⁴ Bodl. MS. 410, f. 65^r, “accipitur a Thoma in summa qu. 32” (*Summa*, ii. 2, qu. 32). Eton 34, f. 63^r, and Add. 6716, f. 43^v, read “sancto Thoma.”

before his canonization in 1323. Of more value in dating the work is the use of the word "schavaldours," meaning gentlemen brigands. The word suddenly comes into prominence about 1317, and is found in chronicles and records of that period ;¹ after that it is rarely used. In a sarcastic passage our friar says : " All Englishmen may thank God for a privilege they have. For it is said that in Ireland and Wales robbers are found who steal cows, oxen, and other beasts of their neighbours, for which they are openly called robbers. But in England, praise be to God, it is not so. Among us these gentlemen are called schalvadours (*sic*), riflouris; for they break into the treasures of the great and carry off their goods, and drive away cattle and spoil the monks and the poor, and have no conscience about it, but rejoice greatly when they can spoil an abbot or monk or merchant, and say : Certainly it was God's will that such a boor fell into our hands to-day. So they think that whatever they do is just and reasonable." ² The passage shows incidentally that the writer had no personal knowledge of Wales or Ireland. On the other hand,

¹ Cf. *Cal. Doc. Scotland*, iii. 127 (A.D. 1319) ; Trokelowe, p. 99 ; Murimuth, p. 27 (1317) ; Gray, *Scalacronica* (trans.), p. 65. Later the word is found in Barbour's *Bruce*, Wiclif, Lydgate. See *New Oxford Dict.* s.v. On the word " riflours," see *Annales Paulini* (Chronicles Ed. I. and II., R.S.), p. 321 : " Et vocabatur tunc temporis (1326) hujusmodi robaria ' Rifflinge ' ; et praedones appellabantur ' Riffleres.' " See also Birchington in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 19.

² Eton 34, fol. 40^v ; Bodl. 410, f. 41^r ; Add. 6716, f. 23^r. The versions vary slightly.

he took a certain malicious interest in Welshmen. "There is a story," he says, "of a Welshman, who, when in danger of shipwreck, promised the blessed Mary a candle as big as the mast, but having escaped he said that she should have one just large enough to go to bed by."¹

The clearest local allusions are to Coventry² and to Shrewsbury. The latter is an account of the death of a friar. "In the convent of the Friars Minor at Salop a friar named Warenn South was sick to death, and another friar, Thomas de Qwythchirch was serving him. As he was nearing his end and the cross was fastened up in front of him as is the custom with the sick, he looked up in terror and cried loudly for the lector of the house. The serving friar hurried to him and asked what he wanted with the lector. The sick man replied: 'Countless devils have just come in by window and door and filled the house, and as I have very little learning they are posing me with hard questions on the Trinity and Catholic faith, so run and ask the lector to help me and answer for me.' The serving brother hurriedly took the cross and put it into the hands of the sick man, and said, 'Do not be afraid if you cannot answer; this will answer for you till I return,' and he ran off for the lector. The sick man almost imme-

¹ Eton MS. 34, f. 17^r; Bodl. 410, f. 15^v

² See above, and Eton MS. 34, f. 17^r: "*Pone casum sicut frequenter contigit in istis magnis villis et civitatibus inter mercatores, sicut Londonia, Coventria et hujusmodi.*"

diately broke into loud laughter, and the servitor, turning back in astonishment, asked the reason. The other replied, 'As soon as you gave me this champion, all the devils took to flight and they are crowding out of windows and doors in such hurry and confusion that I think they are breaking each other's necks and backs.'"¹

The author was a Franciscan who belonged to the custody of Worcester (which included Coventry and Shrewsbury), and flourished *c.* 1320. He was a man of considerable learning: he quotes not only the Bible, the Fathers, lives of the Saints, and Aristotle, but Ovid, Virgil, Martial, Valerius, Vegetius, Seneca, Pliny, Boethius, Isidore, Rabanus, Alexander Neckam, John of Salisbury, William of Malmesbury; and among thirteenth-century writers he refers to Grosseteste (*De Templo Domini*), Matthew Paris (not by name), Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Historiale*), Martin of Troppau, Bonaventura (*Life of Christ*), Albertus on the *Ethics*, and the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas. He had had the usual philosophic training of the time, but even when citing Aristotle—the *Meteorica*, *Problemata*, *De naturis animalium*, etc., and Aristotle's commentator Averroes,—he is careful to confine himself to passages and ideas which could be understood of the people.²

¹ Eton MS. 34, f. 27^v; Add. 6716, f. 12^r.

² A good illustration will be found in part ii. cap. 6; Eton MS. 34, f. 17^r: "Unde Aristoteles in Problematibus Problemate

But his real study and main interest was life, not books. He draws his illustrations from everyday occurrences : the pranks of boys, the games of little girls (which consist largely of dressing up in other people's clothes), the lisp of little children who cannot pronounce the letter *r*, the lighting of a fire with flint, steel, and sulphurated thread. He touches on prevalent superstitions and folk-lore.¹ His careful analysis of usury² and his allusions to partnerships³ show that he was acquainted with practical problems of business men.

Some of his moralizations are startling and far-fetched. In a chapter on the advantages coming to the truly contrite, he says : " We have an example in the poor little spinster who takes wool to spin, but often compelled by necessity, because she has not enough to live on, she sells some of the wool, and when she has to take the spun wool back, she moistens it, so that the weight may not be wanting. Now *we* ought to

3º querit quare corpora sunt frigidiora, scilicet in estate quam in hyeme et e contrario. Et respondit dicens quod sudor et humectatio plus infrigidat corpora quam calefaciunt, sed in tali tempore calido maxime eveniunt sudores. . . . Commentator autem dicit sic : Illud, inquit, maxime verificatur in me. Video enim quod pulices super me proiecti in estate fugiunt propter frigiditatem non parvam, sed in yeme accedunt. Sed ut mihi videtur verior solucio est quod in estate poris apertis calor exit quasi congaudens suo simili ; sed in yeme per suum circumstans frigus calor repercutitur ad interiora corporis et ibi manet. Et hec est causa quare fontes sunt frigidiores in estate quam in hyeme."

¹ See Appendix.

² Eton MS. 34, f. 41^r.

³ *Ibid.* f. 17^r.

do like that. When at the suggestion of the flesh or the devil we rob God, not of wool or linen, but of our soul, created in His image ; if we wish to restore it to Him with its full weight, we must moisten it well with penance and tears of contrition.”¹ The analogy is not quite sound. It was intended to startle—to arrest the attention—and probably succeeded.

On the same subject of contrition : “ It is with God and the sinner as with a merchant at a fair and other merchants. We see when a clever merchant sees his advantage in some things or merchandise and cannot easily get the seller to agree to his price, he takes him cunningly to a tavern and makes him eat and drink well, and when he sees him soaked with good liquor, he puts forward his business ; he will generally obtain what he wants on making deposit. Now I imagine our whole life to be like a fair, for as in a fair there is a great concourse of people, and great paraphernalia and trinkets, merchandise of various kinds and lots of booths, and yet in a short time it will all be taken away and removed elsewhere, and all the expense will have gone for nothing, unless one has been clever in buying or selling, and in the place itself nothing remains except more filth than elsewhere ; so it is in this life. . . . Therefore we ought not to delay, but lead Christ to the tavern of contrition, and

¹ Eton MS. 34, f. 54^v (part v. cap. 9).

pledge him abundantly in the food and drink of tears.”¹

Somewhat in the same strain he says: “We ought to imitate the man who has incurred the King’s anger. What does he do? He goes secretly to the queen and promises a present, then to the earls and barons and does the same; then to the free men of the household, and lastly to the footmen. So when we have offended Christ, we should first go to the Queen of heaven and offer her, instead of a present, prayers, fasting, vigils, and alms; then she, like a mother, will come between thee and Christ, the father who wishes to beat us, and she will throw the cloak of mercy between the rod of punishment and us, and soften the King’s anger against us. Afterwards we should go to the earls and barons, *i.e.* the apostles, and ask them to intercede for us; then to the knights and esquires, *i.e.* martyrs and confessors; then to the ladies of the Queen’s Chamber, *i.e.* the women saints; and lastly to the footmen, *i.e.* to the poor, for the poor should be persuaded by gifts of alms to intercede for us to Christ.”²

Parallels or analogies of this kind, called here “*exempla*,” and stories called “*narrationes*,” play a large part in the *Fasciculus Morum*; but our friar often speaks directly. His rhyming version of the Ten Commandments in English would

¹ Eton MS. 34, f. 51v.

² *Ibid.* f. 10v.

have satisfied Wiclif, but for his omission (for which Wiclif might have offered a sinister explanation) of the second.¹ On the ingratitude of children to parents, he says: "About the mother, don't we see every day how a son puts his poor old mother on to her 'one-third' of the land—and that the worst land—and to obtain that he absolutely wishes her dead, and so he forgets that she is his mother, who suffered so many pains in giving him birth, showed him such love in nurturing him, now feeding, now washing, now embracing, now kissing him, now calling him, 'my bishop' or 'my king,' and so on,—he forgets all this, and treats her as a stranger."² He goes on to say that the cause of such ingratitude is the habit of spoiling children (a subject frequently reverted to by the friars),³ and quotes rhyming verses, as his wont is:

Qui non assuescit virtuti dum juvenescit
A viciis nescit discedere quando senescit.

¹ Bodl. MS. 410, f. 21 :

Take no god but on in heuen
Take not his nome in ydel steuen
Kepe thou wel thi haliday
Thy fader and moder worship ay
Loke thou be no man slaer
Ne fals wytnes berer
Thou shall do no lechery
No theft of thyng that lyes the by
Thi nekburch good thou shall not wyлле
His wyf his doughter thou shall not spille.

² Eton MS. 34, f. 12^v.

³ E.g. *Spec. Laic.* cap. xxxviii.

Chastez your children whil thei be yonge
Of werk of dede of speche, of tong,
ffor if ye lete hem be to bolde
he wil yowe greve whan thei ben olde.¹

He is no less severe in rebuking townsfolk for their envious intrigues against a successful rival. "Suppose a young merchant, perhaps of lowly origin, but intelligent and far-sighted, comes and settles in some city from other parts, and is very successful in business; will not the other natives of the city at once envy him, saying: 'Where has he got all this money from? He cannot have got it honestly.' And so from deliberate envy they put him into some (public) office, where, willy-nilly, he cannot help falling into arrears, and losing his property and becoming impoverished. And if they are rebuked for this, they say they did it for the salvation of his soul, to put down the avarice and pride which had begun to get hold of him, and so they shave the beard of his prosperity. But let them beware; such barbers are accursed and without excuse."²

Our friar does not appear as a flatterer or a respecter of persons; even popes come under his lash. Thus he quotes from Matthew Paris ("narratur") the vision of the cardinal, who saw the soul of Innocent IV. condemned to hell for

¹ The English version is from Bodl. 410, f. 9^v.

² Eton MS. 34, f. 18^v. Cf. Bodl. 410, f. 17^r; Add. 6716, f. 23^v.

simony at the petition of the Virgin¹ (who generally, in mediaeval stories, pleads for mercy against the severity of her son's judgements). "Of a Pope named Benedict [IX.], who obtained the papacy by simony, and pretended to be holy but lived evilly, it is narrated that soon after death he appeared to a friend with the head of an ass and the body of a bear" (the ass being an "animal luxuriosum").² The old story of the bishop and the ass he tells as a malicious joke ("trufando"). "A vicar was rebuked by the bishop for having buried his ass in the churchyard. 'My lord,' replied the vicar, 'you do not know how much my ass left you in his will—it was 40s.' 'Requiescat in pace,' replied the bishop."³

On the whole, the *Fasciculus Morum* is singularly free from stories derogatory of ecclesiastical persons. There is a horrible story of a clerk, in love with a girl, and employing a procuress to secure her seduction, but it is aimed at the vile trade often denounced by mediaeval preachers, but perhaps nowhere so effectively as in the *Fasciculus Morum*.⁴ The drunken priest,

¹ Eton MS. f. 43^r; Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* v. 471. Cf. also *Spec. Laic.* (ed. Welter), No. 478, p. 94.

² Eton MS. f. 61^v; cf. *Cat. of Romances*, iii. 538.

³ Eton MS. f. 38^v. The story appears in the Dominican collection MS. Royal 7 D.1, f. 98.

⁴ Eton MS. f. 80. The story is a common one. See *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 28; *Cat. of Romances*, ii. 197, 239, 255; iii. 237, 267, 572 n.; *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (ed. Crane), No. ccl. and references pp. 239-240; Nic. de Bozon, *Contes moralisés*, p. 169.

who oversleeps himself and gabbles through the service, is warned that he will be punished, not in purgatory, but in hell. Of such a voice is heard saying :

Longslepers and over lepers
Fore skyppers and over hyppers
I hem noght here ne they be myne,
But ye sone amende ye schul in hell pyne.¹

It must be admitted that heavenly voices reported by our friar do not make good verses.

The evil life of a rector or vicar is no excuse for withholding tithes, which are given, not to him, but to God. Whoever knowingly withholds tithes is excommunicate both by common law (*a jure communi*) and by the statutes of the English Church (*et etiam a statutis ecclesie Anglicane*). Just as a sick doctor can give medicines without his sickness affecting the efficacy of the medicine, so the goodness or badness of a priest does not affect the efficacy of the Sacrament (the analogy used by Innocent III.). "And if you say, what does it matter to me to be excommunicated by such an ignorant boor as this vicar or rector? I answer, Whoever is justly excommunicated is cut off from the good works which are being done in the whole Church day and night."² But a parishioner need not confess

¹ Eton MS. f. 49^v; Bodl. 410 f. 51^r. In connexion with the mediaeval moralists' objections to dancing, see the amazing account of the Bacchic dances conducted by the parish priest of Inverkeithing in *Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 109 (1282).

² Eton MS. f. 11.

to his own priest if he is ‘ydiota vel proditor confessionis vel solicitator ad peccata.’¹

With regard to the monks, our author is chiefly interested in rebuking their oppressors—the nobles who eat them out of house and home by quartering themselves and their “ribaldi”² on them. In other collections, *e.g.* the Durham *Liber Exemplorum*, there are many stories reflecting on the morals of monks; but preachers are warned, if they are preaching to the people, to alter stories reflecting on the monks, so as to make them of general application; otherwise the religious will be brought into contempt and the people not much edified; if, however, the sermon is addressed to monks, the original form of the story should be preserved.³

All the collections—and this does not apply only to Franciscan collections—are alike in the importance attached to the worship of the Virgin and to confession. The story of the thief who devoutly said the Ave Maria when he went stealing, and was saved by the Virgin from hanging, is not an unfair specimen of the stories enforcing the advantages of praying to the Virgin.⁴ And on “the evils that befall those who will not confess,” take this from the *Fasciculus Morum*. “A girl, reckoned devout, and

¹ Eton MS. f. 55v.

² *Ibid.* f. 18v.

³ *Liber exemplorum* (Brit. Soc. Fr. S.), pp. 94, 95.

⁴ *Liber exemplorum*, p. 24; it is a very common story. For other references, see *ibid.* p. 132, and add *Cat. of Romances*, iii. 466-67, 513.

holy, died ; after her burial her priest, who was lying in the church, heard a horrible voice crying, ' Alas, alas, that I was born, Bothe life and soul I am forlorn.' After hearing this four nights, he saw two horrible demons leading away the girl. In answer to questions she told him, ' I used to grumble at my mother, and did not think it was a great sin, but since it is directly against the law of God, and I would not confess it, I am damned, and shall be tortured for ever.' ”¹

Another point in which the collections resemble one another is their sympathy with the poor and condemnation of their oppressors.² If unjust bailiffs continued to flourish, it was not the fault of the preachers. The lawlessness of the powerful is frequently rebuked, and on this subject the English verses of the *Fasciculus Morum* attain a certain dignity, as in the short prayer for peace :

Sithen that this world was ful of honde
Trewth and loue has leyn in bonde.
Wherefore thou Lord that art aboue
Little that honde and send us loue. Amen.³

¹ Eton MS. f. 58 ; cf. *Spec. Laic.* No. 449 ; Odo de Ceriton (ed. Hervieux), No. cxxxi. ; *Cat. of Romances*, iii. 73, 398, 461, 616, 645, 679.

² Cf. Vitry, No. 138, 150. Many instances in the thirteenth-century Dominican compilation in MS. Royal, 7 D.1 ; *Cat. of Romances*, iii. 480, 491, 494, 497, 498, 502.

³ Bodl. 410, f. 17^v ; cf. f. 41^r :

Sythen that lawe for wille begynne to slaken
And falshed for sleyght is itaken
Robbinges and reuynges is holden purchas
And foul fals lechery is pryuy solas
Now may Ingelond syngen Alas.

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Honourable mention is often made of manual labour—ploughing, sowing, reaping, brewing, tailoring, building are among the “*bonae occupationes*” mentioned in the *Fasciculus Morum*. How the honest labourer cast out devils who had defied the professional saint is among the stories of the Franciscan preachers,¹ and Nicholas Bozon declares that “nothing is so good in this life for body and soul as honest work,” and he concludes his fable of the pig and the ass with a fine appreciation of labour, which he attributes to Holy Scripture (it may be noted that the passage, in Latin, is copied by a scribe in one of the earliest extant Roger Bacon MSS., where it is ascribed to “Fulgentius in quodam sermone”).² “Work is the life of man and the guardian of health; work drives away all occasion of sin and makes a man sleep well at night; it is the relief of weariness, the strength of sickness, the salvation of men—quickener of the senses, foe of sloth, nurse of happiness—a duty in the young and a merit in the old.”³

The general verdict on these collections must be a favourable one. The itinerant preachers knew the difficulties and sorrows and temptations of the people they addressed; they were not afraid to castigate vices of all classes, and to

¹ Jo. Wallensis, *Communiloquium*, pars i. Dist. x. cap. 3. Cf. MS. Egerton, 1117, f. 182 (*Cat. of Romances*, iii. 472).

² Tanner MS. 116, p. 57.

³ *Les Contes moralisés de Nic. Bozon*, p. 142.

insist on the performance of duties ; they gave courage to the poor and oppressed. The teaching on the whole, with some marked exceptions, was bracing and stimulating. The parsons could not help regarding the friars as rivals, but the more earnest among them showed their appreciation by welcoming the preachers and making use of their sermon-notes.

V

THE EDUCATION OF THE CLERGY: THE WORKS OF FRIAR JOHN OF WALES

“IGNORANTIA SACERDOTUM” begins one of Archbishop Pecham’s Constitutions in 1281: “The ignorance of priests casteth the people into the pit of error,” and these words form the beginning of the third part of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* in the fourteenth century¹ and of Lyndwood’s *Provinciale* in the fifteenth. It would not be just to draw any general conclusions with regard to the state of learning in the English Church from such evidence as is afforded by the racy stories of Giraldus Cambrensis² or Roger Bacon’s denunciations of “country priests and clerks, who repeat the divine office while understanding little or nothing of it, like beasts.”³ But the decrees of General Councils prove how inadequate were

¹ On this work see H. W. C. Davis, “The Canon Law in England” in *Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 1913, p. 349. The MSS. are mostly anonymous (e.g. Balliol College, 83); one (York Minster, xvi. K 16) attributes it to Pecham.

² See esp. *Gemma Ecclesiastica*.

³ *Opera Ined.* (R.S.) ed. Brewer, p. 413.

the educational facilities provided, or even hoped for, by the supreme authority in the Church. The Third Lateran Council of 1179 enacted that every cathedral chapter should endow a master who should teach the clerks of the cathedral church and poor scholars free of charge.¹ The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, declaring that this decree was in many churches entirely disregarded, enacted that not only in the cathedral church, but also in others where funds allowed, a competent master should be chosen by the bishop and chapter, who should instruct the clergy of those churches and others in grammar; further, a metropolitan church at least should have a theologian to teach priests and others Holy Scripture and their pastoral duties; the chapter was to assign to the grammar master the revenues of one prebend, and the metropolitan was to provide in like manner for the theologian.²

Meagre as these requirements were, they were not carried out. Popes, legates, bishops,³ and canonists of the thirteenth century alike

¹ Mansi, *Concilia*, xxii. 227; Denifle, *Chartularium Univ. Paris*, i. 10.

² Mansi, xxii. 986, 999; Denifle, i. 81.

³ A good example is the following: In 1229 John Halgrin, cardinal bishop of Sabina, legate in Spain, issued Constitutions for the diocese of Barcelona, ordering *inter alia* the observance of this Lateran Statute: "Vos hoc salubre statutum observare neglexistis." In 1332 Pontius, bishop of Barcelona, reissued the Constitutions *verbatim*; Martene, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.* iv. 595, 598. Cf. Mandonnet, "La crise scolaire au début du xiii. siècle," in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xv. 34, where more instances will be found.

testify that the Lateran decree remained often a dead letter: "aut nullus aut rarus est fructus statuti ipsius," is the conclusion of Henry de Susa, the famous 'Hostiensis.'¹ In England the opportunities afforded for theological study already went beyond the demands of the Lateran Council. If the monastic cathedrals still lagged behind—if there is no trace of a school of theology in the metropolitan church of Canterbury until more than fifty years after the death of Innocent III.²—each of the secular cathedrals maintained a school of theology presided over by the chancellor (formerly called the master of the schools).³ But the chancellor was now ceasing to teach, and becoming immersed in administrative duties; the chancellor's schools were entering on a period of intermittent activity, and the Lateran decree failed to stop this tendency.⁴ The existing schools, always few and inadequate, were falling

¹ Quoted by Mandonnet, *La Crise scolaire*, etc., p. 41 (Glos. in V Docibiles, C. 5, x., De Magistris, 5. 5.).

² See p. 172 below.

³ Cf. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 107, 108, 158 *et seq.* It may not be superfluous to note that the secular cathedrals in England were York, London, Exeter, Lichfield, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, Chichester, Wells; the monastic Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Coventry, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester, Ely, Bath. Carlisle was the only cathedral of Augustinian canons.

⁴ The subject is obscure. There is evidence of chancellors lecturing on theology about 1200; e.g. William de Monte at Lincoln (Gir. Cambrensis, *De rebus a se gestis*, iii. 3). But references to chancellors in this connection after the middle of the thirteenth century are usually concerned with dispensations from or neglect of their duties as teachers. See, e.g. *Registrum Simonis*

into desuetude. The Theological Faculty in the universities was now in its infancy, and could never touch directly more than a small fraction of the clergy. The theological knowledge which the English bishops in the first half of the thirteenth century professed to demand from those having the cure of souls was confined to a knowledge of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Deadly Sins.¹ Yet what steps did the ecclesiastical authorities take to remedy this state of things? Not one of the numerous benefices granted by the popes in England in the thirteenth century seems to have been used as an endowment of a teacher of theology,² and I have found only one instance of an English bishop and chapter using their powers of patronage or election for this

de Gandavo, Episc. Saresb. (C. and Y. Soc.) p. 41; *Register of Bishop Stapeldon*, Exeter, p. 152. When theological lectures in cathedral schools are mentioned, they are generally given by some one other than the chancellor; thus Robert Winchelsea, when archdeacon (c. 1283), lectured on theology at St. Paul's (Birchington in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 12). Thomas de Wilton, chancellor, was excused from lecturing, 1321 (*Cal. Papal L.* ii. 225).

¹ See, e.g., Constitutions of W. de Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, 1255, and the Synodal Statutes of Norwich, 1257; Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 704, 731. Cf. the articles of inquiry in Lincoln diocese, 1230, and throughout England, 1253: "An aliqui rectores vel vicarii vel sacerdotes sint enormiter illiterati?" (Wilkins, i. 627; *Annals of Burton*, p. 308). The most amazing evidence of ignorance is contained in memorandum of the examination of the priests officiating in the church of Sonning and its dependent chapels by the Dean of Salisbury in 1222: *Register of S. Osmund*, ed. W. H. R. Jones (R.S.), i. 304-6.

² Some were intended as a reward for learning, e.g. those to Michael Scot, "eminent in science" (*Cal. Papal Letters*, i. 94, etc.).

purpose. Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester (1224-44), with the consent of the dean and chapter, ordained that the prebend of Wittering should always be given by the bishop to a master in theology, who should take oath to deliver theological lectures; the ordinance seems to have been observed for about a hundred years when the pope disregarded it by appointing to the prebend a man who was not a theologian, and "so the lectureship in theology was defrauded."¹

The work which the ecclesiastical hierarchy failed to perform was taken up by the Mendicant Orders, and Thomas Aquinas in 1257 was able to claim that the statute of the Lateran Council, so far as it concerned the teaching of theology, had been carried out, and far more than carried out, by the friars.²

Let us consider the work of the English Franciscans in this direction. The period of systematic study and teaching of theology in the Order ought probably not to be put much before 1230, in or about which year Alexander of Hales entered the Order at Paris, and Robert Grosseteste became reader to the Franciscans at Oxford. On the former event Roger Bacon³ says: "His entry into the Order created the greatest sensation, not only on account of his great position but because the

¹ *Cal. Pap. L.* iv. 177, 1890; *V.C.H. Sussex*, ii. 404.

² "Contra impugnantes Dei cultum," *Opera Omnia*, xxix. 29 (ed. Vivès, Paris, 1876).

³ *Opera Ined.* (ed. Brewer) p. 326.

Minorite Order was then neglected by the world, and he (Alexander) enlightened the world and exalted the Order. From this time the friars and others exalted him to the skies, and regarded him as the authority in the whole University." Grosseteste was a vigorous champion of the movement which soon changed the Franciscans into one of the great "Student Orders," saying that unless the friars devoted themselves to study they would degenerate and become like the older Orders who were walking in the darkness of ignorance.¹ In this he was actively supported by Brother Elias, whom even the hostile Salimbene admits to have been the chief promoter of theological learning in the Order ; ² while the example of the Dominicans tended strongly to the same result.³

The merit of having put the system of education on a wide and lasting basis belongs to William of Nottingham, fourth provincial minister, 1240-1254.⁴ Before his death "there were thirty lecturers (among the Franciscan houses) in England, who solemnly disputed, and three or four who lectured without disputation."⁵ As the Franciscan houses at this time numbered about forty, one sees that the Franciscan province

¹ Eccleston, p. 114.

² *Chronica Fr. Salimbene* (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.* xxxii. 104).

³ Cf. Eccleston, p. 102.

⁴ The date of the Chapter of Metz in which William was deposed has been finally fixed at 1254 by the discovery of the original letter of John of Parma dated from the chapter (*Archiv. Franc. Hist.* iv. 425-35).

⁵ Eccleston, p. 63.

was approaching the Dominican ideal that there should be no house without a lecturer.¹ William of Nottingham further had linked up these provincial centres with the universities. "He had assigned in the universities, for each convent, students who were to succeed the lecturers on their death or removal."² And Adam Marsh could claim that nowhere were the necessary aids to biblical study ("studii litteralis") so accessible as in England.³ It is possible that among these "aids" was already to be reckoned the index of the contents of libraries in England drawn up by the Franciscans and known as the *Registrum Angliae* or *Tabula septem custodiarum*,⁴ the libraries being grouped according to the Franciscan "custody" in which they were situated. Though no manuscript of this work now extant is earlier than about 1400, there are signs that it was drawn up long before. Thus the seven custodies are really eight in the index—including Sarum, which was not a custody in the fourteenth century, but was a custody before 1250.⁵ Further, no libraries of Mendicant friaries were included in the original list; the few which are found in

¹ *A.L.K.G.* i. 221.

² Eccleston, p. 63.

³ *Mon. Franc.* i. 379.

⁴ The earliest version extant, containing references to seventy authors, is in the Bodleian, Tanner MS. 165; the second, containing references to 92 authors, MS. Peterhouse, 169. Boston of Bury's *Catalogue* (containing 675 authors) is based on this. An edition is being prepared under the supervision of Dr. M. R. James.

⁵ Eccleston, p. 44.

the lists which we have, such as the Friars Minor of Oxford and Babwell, are later additions. The explanation may be that the list was drawn up before the friars possessed great libraries of their own.

The subjects taught in the friars' schools were undoubtedly in the main what we may term practical theology. "Studium est ordinatum ad praedicationem, praedicatio ad animarum salutem, quae est ultimus finis," in the words of Humbert of Romans, fifth master-general of the Dominicans.¹ The formal recognition of the study of arts, which was granted by the Dominican general chapter in 1259,² does not appear to have been made in the Franciscan Order before 1292.³ According to Angelo of Clareno, the study of the secular sciences and of "the wicked arts of Aristotle like plagues of Egypt" was introduced into the Order in the time of Crescentius, *i.e.* 1244-47.⁴ However this may be, the difficulty had been early got over in practice by

¹ *A.L.K.G.* i. 190 (from Humbert's Commentary on the Rule). Cf. Eccleston, p. 60; under Grosseteste the friars "tam in quaestionibus quam praedicationi congruis subtilibus moralitatibus profecerunt."

² *Acta Capit. Gen. O.P.* i. 99 (in *Mon. Ord. Praed. Hist.* tom. iii. ed. Reichert): "Quod ordinetur in provinciis que indiguerint aliquod studium arcium vel aliqua ubi iuvenes instruantur." Some provinces evidently had established "studia artium"; cf. Douais, *Organisation des études*, p. 59, n. 1.

³ *A.L.K.G.* vi. 64: "Quod ministri in suis provinciis ordinent studia pro artibus pro iuvenibus provincie instruendis."

⁴ Cf. *A.L.K.G.* ii. 258, 265.

including in theology a great deal which properly belonged to logic (a confusion which provoked the anger of Roger Bacon), and even to natural science.¹ It would further appear that some provinces had already taken the matter into their own hands, and established "studia artium," or schools of philosophy, without authorization. A curious ordinance of the province of Aquitaine at the chapter of Périgueux at the end of the thirteenth century, "Unruly youths, if they will not amend their ways after warning, shall be removed from all schools of philosophy and assigned to the school of theology,"² shows that the arts schools were already in full working order, and may even imply that they were popular. Owing to the loss of the provincial constitutions and of all the acts of the provincial chapters in England, it is impossible to say what the practice was in this country.

The establishment of a higher school of theology in each of the seven custodies, into which the English province was divided, was probably a later development. Evidence of this is found in the constitutions of Benedict XII. in 1336. It is there provided that "no friar shall be chosen to lecture on the Sentences (*i.e.* to take the degree of B.D.) in the universities of Paris, Oxford, or

¹ Thus the famous *De proprietatibus rerum* of Friar Bartholomew, the Englishman, was the work of a lecturer in theology to the Friars Minor at Paris and Magdeburg, c. 1230.

² *A.F.H.* vii. 481.

Cambridge unless he has previously lectured on the four books of the Sentences together with the writings of the approved doctors in other places of study which are reckoned as 'studia generalia' in the Order, or in the following convents, namely, Rouen, Reims, Metz, Bruges, London, York, Norwich, Newcastle, Stamford, Coventry, Exeter, Bordeaux, Narbonne, Marseilles, Asti, Nagy-Varad (Hungary), Prague, Pisa, Erfurt, Rimini, Todi."¹ The seven English houses here mentioned represent the seven custodies, and it may have been the custom for the provincial chapter to choose the English candidates for the degree of B.D. in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge from each of the custodies in turn² (foreign students being elected by the general chapter). Some such custom certainly prevailed in the case of the four "visitations" into which the Dominican province was divided,³ and the four "distinctions" into which the Carmelite province was divided.⁴ Many points in the educational organization of the Franciscans remain obscure, and it is uncertain whether the decree of Benedict XII. represented a system already in force or whether it was an innovation. There is, however, some evidence that the custodies were

¹ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vi. 30.

² Cf. the custom in the province of Aquitaine, *Arch. Fr. Hist.* vii. 474.

³ *M.O.P.H.* iv. 434; *V.C.H. Oxfordshire*, ii. 116.

⁴ *Cal. Papal Letters*, v. 1, 19-20.

organized for education or learning long before Benedict XII., and that the Stamford house at least was a special place of study before the end of the thirteenth century.¹

The testimony of John Rous, the antiquary and chantry priest of Warwick, shows that in the fifteenth century the friary schools were in working order, that the connexion between them and the universities was still maintained, and that a regular co-operation between the different Mendicant Orders had been established. "To-day," he says, "in cathedral churches and some noble colleges, and in the friaries of the four Mendicant Orders, fruitful lectures and disputations are held, and students are assigned to take degrees in the universities according as they prove themselves suitable in the local schools. And wherever there are two, still more three or all four convents of friars, then without doubt each week scholars are duly exercised in disputations, now in one convent, now in another."²

These schools were of course established primarily for the friars themselves, but there is no doubt that the schools both of the Dominicans

¹ In 1300 about a quarter of the Franciscans of Oxford and Stamford were presented for licence to hear confessions; for the other convents in the Lincoln diocese as many as half or three-quarters were presented (see Lecture III.). The tradition of Stamford being a place of learning is strong and persistent, though there is not much direct evidence.

² *Hist. Reg. Angliæ* (ed. Hearne, 1716), p. 73.

and Franciscans were as a rule open to seculars, at any rate in the thirteenth century.

The Dominican constitutions of 1228 distinguish between *public* and *private* lectures. "No one shall be made a public teacher unless he has studied theology for at least four years."¹ "If it so happens that there cannot be found lecturers capable of lecturing publicly, there shall at any rate be appointed some to give private lectures, either on the histories or the 'summa de casibus' or something of the kind, so that the friars may not be idle" (1259).² Such a state of things was clearly exceptional; as a rule, the lectures were public, *i.e.* not confined to the friars of the house.

The Franciscan constitutions of 1260 and 1292 do not make this distinction, but they expressly say that seculars shall be excluded from certain courses. "Lectures on law and medicine ('*phisica*') in schools of theology shall not be given by the same lecturer, nor at the same time as the lectures on theology, but at a different time and place as shall be convenient; to lectures of this kind seculars shall not be admitted" (1292).³ It is clear that their presence at the theological lectures was assumed without question.

Evidence of individual seculars attending

¹ *A.L.K.G.* i. 223.

² *M.O.P.H.* iii. 99 (*Acta Capit. Gen.* i.).

³ *A.L.K.G.* vi. 108. (The Phillipps MS. reads "*philosophica*" for "*phisica*.")

courses in the friaries (except at the universities) is almost non-existent. We learn that Magnus, afterwards King of Norway, 1263–80, “non segniter intendit” in the Franciscan schools of theology.¹ Richard de Wyche also studied theology in the Dominican house at Orleans, but we only know this because he was afterwards canonized, and his life was written by a Dominican.² One might be tempted to infer from the extreme rarity of instances that secular clerks did not avail themselves of their opportunities; one may bring the waters of knowledge to a secular clerk, but one cannot make him drink. Indications are, however, not wanting that in the thirteenth century the clergy did frequent the new schools of theology.

The university of Paris issued in 1254 a manifesto against the Mendicant Orders, declaring that it was now hardly possible to maintain twelve chairs of theology at Paris on account of the scarcity of students, which was due to the fact that theology was now taught—not without great danger—by the Dominican and other friars in all cities and other large places.³ In other words, theological students, who would have come to Paris, now attended courses in Dominican or Franciscan convents nearer home.

In confirmation and illustration of this state-

¹ *Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 104.

² *Acta SS.*, April, i. 287.

³ Denifle, *Chart. Univ. Paris*. i. No. 230.

ment one may refer to the letter of Innocent IV. in 1246 granting licence for non-residence, with the right to receive the full income of their benefices, to any clerks of the province of Lyons who studied theology in the Franciscan house at Dijon.¹ Other schools, Dominican and Franciscan,² enjoyed the same privilege, though no evidence has been found of the practice in England. Perhaps the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were strong enough to maintain a monopoly.

Roger Bacon testifies to the number and popularity of the new schools. Writing about 1272 he says : "There was never such an appearance of learning, nor such educational activity in so many faculties and so many districts as in the last forty years. Everywhere teachers are scattered about, and especially teachers of theology are found in every city and borough, especially through the two Student Orders, which has only happened in the last forty years or so."³ And again : "There were never so many students or so many teachers of theology as in the last forty years; they now lecture in every district and every city and every good town."⁴ He

¹ *Bull. Franc.* i. 416.

² *E.g.* the Dominicans of Dijon, 1245 (*Chart. Univ. Paris.* i. 176); the Franciscans of Bologna, 1249 (*ibid.* i. 214). It is possible that the Mendicant houses situated in other university towns where there was no recognized faculty of theology enjoyed the same privilege, *e.g.* Montpellier.

³ *Opera Ined.* (ed. Brewer, R.S.) p. 398.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 432.

goes on to say that the result is "infinite error"; but our present point is that the schools of the Student Orders were frequented on all sides, by seculars as well as religious. "For forty years," to quote Roger Bacon again, "the seculars have composed no treatise on theology, and they think they cannot know anything unless they attend for ten years or more the lectures of the youths of the two Orders. They never venture to lecture on the sentences or incept in theology, or to give a single lecture or disputation or sermon, except by using the note-books of these boy-friars."¹ The prelates themselves, when they have to preach, "borrow and beg" these boys' note-books.²

The friars also appear occasionally as holding lectures and disputations outside their own houses. A school of theology under a Franciscan lecturer was established in the cathedral church of Canterbury in 1275, amid much misgiving on the part of the monks. "About Michaelmas the convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, of their own will admitted a Friar Minor named William de Everal to lecture on theology. . . . This was unheard of in former times," adds the monastic chronicler, "and what will be the result of this lecture and school, the future will show, since novelties produce quarrels."³ The

¹ *Opera Ined.* (ed. Brewer, R.S.) p. 428-29.

² *Ibid.* p. 309.

³ *Gervas. Cantuar. Contin.* (R.S.) ii. 281.

arrangement, however, lasted some forty years, William de Everal being succeeded by Friars Ralph de Wodeheye and Robert de Fulham, till at length, in 1314, one of the monks was declared qualified to undertake the office.¹

At various periods in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries we find friars lecturing in the Chancellor's schools of secular cathedrals—in London, Lincoln, York.² As a rule, it is only the lectures which roused popular feeling which are noticed. Thus the lectures and disputations at St. Paul's in 1465 on the poverty of Christ, in which Franciscans, Carmelites, and seculars took part, are mentioned in Gregory's *London Chronicle* because they led to charges of heresy and appeals to Rome, and city men "laid great wagers" on the result.³ The ordinary educational work is passed over in silence.

To teach the ignorant, friar John Pecham maintained, was "the first work of mercy,"⁴ and the English Franciscans, besides lecturing to the clergy, also composed treatises for the instruction

¹ *Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p. 66; to authorities there quoted add *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v. 247; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. Various Collections*, i. 278.

² A Carmelite at St. Paul's, 1286 (*Domesday of St. Paul's* (Camden Soc.), pp. 173-4); Stephen Patrington, Carmelite, at Lincoln, 1390 (*V.C.H. Linc.* ii. 424); John Mardislay, O.M., and W. Jordan, O.P., at York, 1355 (*Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 242).

³ *Collections of a London Citizen*, ed. Gairdner (Camden Soc.), 1876, pp. 228-32.

⁴ Pecham, *Formula Confessionum*, f. 38 (MS. Laur. S. Cruc. iv. sin. xi. at Florence).

of priests, teachers, and preachers. I wish to draw attention to one series of these manuals, the works of Friar John of Wales. Most of us who are students of the Middle Ages confine ourselves perhaps too much to chronicles and records; we do not read enough of the books which the educated men of the Middle Ages read, nor of the books which they wrote. A study of this kind may be useful in helping us to see something of the ways in which the mediaeval mind worked, and something of the materials on which it worked.

John of Wales belonged to the custody of Worcester, which included North Wales, and is described as the "socius" of John Kidinnas.¹ He was sixth regent-master of the Friars Minor at Oxford, probably before 1260.² He was also Doctor of Theology at Paris, being "regent" apparently in 1282.³ In the same year he was employed by Archbishop Pecham to negotiate with Llewelyn.⁴ In 1283 he was again in Paris, where he took part in examining and condemning the doctrines of Peter John Olivi.⁵ He died in Paris at an unknown date (perhaps 1285⁶), and was afterwards honoured by the title of

¹ MS. Jesus Coll., Cambridge, 67.

² *Grey Friars in Oxford*, 143.

³ Quetif-Echard, *Scriptores Ord. Praed.* i. 386.

⁴ Peckham's *Register*, ii. 421-2.

⁵ *A.L.K.G.* iii. 416-17.

⁶ Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 435 (from MS. Bale-Glyn).

“Arbor Vitae” (a tree being sculptured on his tomb).¹

His writings enjoyed a widespread and lasting popularity. I have noted in various libraries of Europe between 150 and 200 MSS. of his works,² some of them containing one treatise, some as many as six; these MSS. date from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. There are still extant four distinct Italian versions of one of his treatises, made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³ Between 1470 and 1520 twelve different printed editions of one or several of his works were issued.⁴

Who read these works? Who were the owners of the MSS. in the Middle Ages? The

¹ Barth. Pis. *Conform.* i. 308, 543 (ed. Quaracchi). An Italian priest, Marcus Micahel, O.M. of Cortona, who wrote a life of him in the fifteenth century, and copied or collected many of his works, gives *Arbor Vitae* as the title of one of his works “divided into eighteen treatises.” The Life, which is of no value, is contained in Cortona MS. 20 (58).

² R. Galle enumerates between thirty and forty MSS. in the libraries of Austria and Germany in *Zt. f. Kirchengesch.* xxxi. MSS. 523-55 (Gotha, 1910).

³ The treatise is the *Breviloquium de IV. virtutibus*—or *de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum*.

See Michele Barbi, *La Leggenda nei volgarizzamenti de Breviloquium de virtutibus di Fra Giovanni Gallese*, Firenze, 1895. The following MSS. are at Florence: (1) of translation I.: LAURENZ. Gadd. rel. xcii. BIBL. NAZ. Conv. Sopp. E i. 250; Mgl. II. ii. 146; II. iv. 121; XXI. 62; XXI. 117; Palat. 547; Baldov. 182; Nelli, 129. RICCARDI, 1282, 1375, 1382.

(2) Of translation II.: BIBL. NAZ. Conv. Sopp. I. i. 21; I. viii. 3. Mgl. IV. 269.

(3) Of translation III.: BIBL. NAZ. Palat. 631.

(4) Of translation IV.: LAURENZ. Ashb. 466. BIBL. NAZ. Mgl. XXX. 227. RICCARDI, 1105.

⁴ See Appendix.

provenance of most of them cannot of course be traced. But among the owners who can be identified are the Franciscans of London, Babwell, Assisi, Cortona, Bamberg, and Friar William Woodford; the Dominicans of Bamberg, Grenoble, and Friar William Hotoft; the Carmelites of Paris; the Austin Friars of Paris and York; the Benedictine abbeys or priories of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Peterborough, Durham, Worcester, Corbie, Klus near Gandersheim, the monastery of St. Mary ad Scotos at Vienna, and John Shepey, monk and bishop of Rochester; Syon Monastery; the secular cathedrals of Hereford, Lincoln (?), Notre Dame de Paris; Pembroke College, Cambridge; the secular masters, William Romsey and John Warkworth, and "Messer lo giudice de Ghallura" in Sardinia—a varied and fairly representative list.

We may now consider some of the works themselves.¹

The *Communiloquium* is the longest of the treatises: it has various titles; the most de-

¹ I have used the edition published at Lyons, 1511 (which contains the *Communiloquium*, *Compendiloquium*, *Breviloquium de sapientia Sanctorum*, *Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum*, *Ordinarium vite religiose*. Both this and the edition published at Paris, 1516 (*Communiloquium* only), were kindly lent me by Mr. Farr, librarian of the Cardiff Public Library, which has a fine collection of the printed editions of the Welsh friar's works.

scriptive is *Summa Collationum ad omne genus hominum*, or a collection of informal discourses to all kinds of men. In the prologue he explains the object: It is the duty of every teacher or preacher of the Gospel to preach the Gospel to every creature; he ought therefore to see that he knows how to instruct all, wise or foolish, in doctrine, and to admonish them efficaciously, not only in set sermons but also in familiar talk face to face. For such talk is often more efficacious than public preaching or lecturing. The fruit of true philosophy is to know how to talk with all men according to their rank, age, position, offices, and duties.

The work is divided into seven parts: Part I. on the State, its composition, laws, justice, peace ("there is no true state except where the law is charity"), loyalty, and self-sacrifice. He discusses the question whether the teaching of the Gospel is contrary to the Commonwealth, as certain ancient heretics maintained, and decides that it is not, chiefly on the authority of St. Augustine. He then goes on to the rulers—and shows what a preacher ought to say to a king if he gets a chance of talking to him; instances are given of devotion to duty, mercy, justice; great stress is laid on the need of a good education; the example of Alexander is quoted who had Aristotle as his tutor and was a student of logic and natural science, studying the ways of fishes

in a glass vessel; the writer mentions the relations of Charles the Great to Alcuin, who "taught him dialectic, rhetoric and astrology, and moved the 'studium' from Rome to Paris." He quotes the well-known saying of "a king of the Romans writing to a king of the Franks on education": "Rex illiteratus quasi asinus coronatus." Finally he refers to "Policratus," *i.e.* John of Salisbury, for the opinion, "it is not sin to kill a tyrant but meet and right," and adds, "et ibi bene de hoc"—you will find the matter well discussed there.

Our author then proceeds with the instruction of governors, judges, and lawyers; king's councillors, chamberlains and treasurers; he discourses on ambition, bribery, "indecent sale of offices," "the sophistical invention of accusations and the impious spoliation of the poor"; even wolves have nurtured children, but these wicked officials flay infants; they are crueller than lynxes, being never satiated. Finally we come to the duties of soldiers (the "hands" of the State), and of labourers (the "feet" of the State). With regard to the latter he illustrates the sanctity of honest work by the story of the devil who refused to come out of a man at the command of St. John the Abbot, but came out at once when summoned by an honest hard-working labourer. A somewhat naïve suggestion is made that the preacher should speak to workmen in the terms of their own trade: *e.g.* weavers should

be talked to about making spiritual garments, armourers about spiritual arms, etc. More practical is the advice to warn hunters against inflicting injury on growing crops. A chapter is devoted to amusements, among which "convivia" are prominent, and the example of Socrates is quoted to show that wise men need not be ashamed to play with children. Some of the editions include a curious moralization of chess.¹

Part II. deals with relations between people—legal, natural, sacramental, and social. Much sound if not very original advice is given and illustrated by examples. The advisability of parents even in good positions teaching their daughters to earn their own living is enforced by the example of the Emperor Octavian (or elsewhere Constantine), who had his daughters taught weaving; and fathers who have marriageable daughters are recommended to remember the advice of "the philosopher Themistocles" who, on being consulted by a father, replied: "I prefer a man who is without money to money without a man."

Part III. deals with differences of sex and age, class, fortune, and health.

Part IV. "*De republica ecclesiastica*," which is as superior to the earthly state as the soul is to the body. But there is no discussion of the problems between Church and State of his own time.

¹ See Appendix.

Statements of what ought to be lead to frequent, if vague, descriptions of what is. *E.g.*, bishops ought to be careful to commit the cure of souls only to wise and industrious priests. "But alas to-day the cure of souls, redeemed by the blood of the Saviour, is often committed to children, effeminates, idiots, and those ignorant of the law of God. There was the case of a bishop who would not entrust the watching of his pears to a boy to whom he had given a church." ¹

Part V., on the instruction of students and teachers, contains no first-hand account or criticism of the teaching of his own day; ² the object of study is moral, and he condemns alike learning for its own sake, learning for the sake of impressing others, and learning for the sake of gain.

Part VI., on the instruction of the religious, contains a reference to the fatuity of those who deprecate voluntary poverty (*i.e.* William of St. Amour), "since to leave all things for Christ is better than to found monasteries or to give alms to the poor," and to the special feature of the Franciscan Order, the renunciation of common as well as of private property, while "other orders may have things in common."

Part VII. is on the preparation for death.

¹ A favourite story: see *Catalogue of Romances*, iii. 75, and references there given.

² In *Compendiloquium*, III. iv. 15, he lays stress on oral teaching (on the authority of Plato).

In view of the popularity of burials in the churches of the friars, it may be noted that John of Wales declares that fine funerals are rather a comfort to the survivors than a help to the dead, and that holy places are of no avail to one whose sins are not forgiven.

The next work is more original in conception if not in execution. It is the *Compendiloquium*—a “compendium of the lives of illustrious philosophers, of their moral sayings, and imitable examples.” It is a biographical history of philosophy—probably the earliest of the kind produced in the Middle Ages. It is inferior both in grasp and in knowledge to the later work of Walter Burley, *De vitis et moribus philosophorum et poetarum*. Walter Burley undoubtedly made some use of John of Wales, but his treatise is based mainly on Diogenes Laertius, of whom his predecessor seems to have had no first-hand knowledge;¹ and Burley was himself a thinker of no mean order, while John of Wales describes

¹ John of Wales never refers to Diogenes Laertius by name, but it is possible that two treatises which he quotes, *Dogma philosophorum* (e.g. *Breviloq. de iv virtutibus*, ii. 5) and *Tractatus de dictis philosophorum* (*Compendiloq.* III. ii. 12; iii. 13; iv. 13; v. 18; v. 22; IV. 7), may be extracts from Diogenes Laertius. (It may be noted that the Library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, contained, No. 465, “Dogma morale fratris I. Galensis.”) A translation of Diogenes Laertius seems to have been undertaken in Sicily c. 1160. See V. Rose's article in *Hermes*, I. (Berlin).

H. Knust in his study of Burley's *De vita et moribus philosophorum* (Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart, 1886) makes Burley a predecessor of Jo. Wallensis. Burley died c. 1345.

himself, with no less truth than humility, as "ignorant of philosophy." His object was essentially moral. "Whereas," he says in his prologue, "from the life of the gentiles and their virtuous works, the imperfection of the Christians may be deservedly rebuked, I have thought fit to collect here the notable sayings and imitable examples of philosophers,—though I am ignorant of philosophy, lacking in philosophic perfection, and unskilled in speech—for the stimulation of the young, for the purpose of inciting them to learn and for very shame to imitate these philosophers; and in order that, though they do great and difficult things for God, they shall keep humble when they hear and read of gentiles doing perfect things and bearing much for honour and human glory." He then defends his use of the heathen philosophers by examples of the saints, especially Augustine and Jerome. "There is nothing against the truths contained in the books of the gentiles (which God revealed to them of his supreme goodness) being used for the illumination of souls and the confirmation of the truths contained in Holy Scripture." The heathen philosophers "were illuminated by philosophy through the revelation of God."

The book is divided into ten parts of very unequal length. Part I. treats of philosophy in general. John of Wales quotes various defini-

tions, such as "Philosophy is the knowledge of things divine and human," but his only real interest is in moral philosophy, and he considers the ultimate object of philosophy to be the "correction of manners" and the attainment of the "blessed life."

Part II. on the name "philosopher" and the philosophic profession.

Part III. (which occupies the bulk of the book) on the succession and lives of the principal philosophers, Thales, Solon, Anaxagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, some disciples of Plato,¹ Pythagoras.

Part IV. on the life of some less known philosophers (such as Zeno), ending with Cicero, Seneca, and Boethius.

Part V. on philosophic perfections—a rearrangement of the virtues of philosophers according to subjects.

Part VI. on the three (or rather four) sects of philosophers, Peripatetics, Stoics, Platonists, Epicureans.

Part VII. on the seven liberal arts, trivial and quadrivial, and their "adaptation." By their "adaptation" he means how they can be made of use by a teacher of morals. It is characteristic of him that he entirely subordinates the science to its moral application. Thus: "Arithmetic is

¹ It may be noticed that neither here nor elsewhere is there any mention of Plotinus.

the science of numbers and their differences. He is the good arithmetician who is intent on calculating the divine talents given to him and obtaining gain from them. . . . To calculate and weigh these is more useful than to work at the science of numbers of external things." Similarly "he is the good musician, in the eyes of God, who praises God in his heart with songs of joy. . . . In these ways the philosopher can use the liberal arts for the correction of morals." And he concludes: "If the pagan philosophers directed philosophy to the correction of morals, what punishments do not Christian philosophers deserve who misuse Holy Scripture from motives of cupidity or ostentation?"

Part VIII. is on poets and makers of apologues or fables—Virgil, Plautus, Persius, Juvenal, Terence, Aesop, and others; and the question is discussed whether it is lawful to use fables "*absque mendacio*."

Part IX. on the eight ways of misusing philosophy, and Part X. on the places in which universities have flourished. Beginning with Egypt, where Abraham taught the "*quadrivium*," he goes on to Athens, Rome, the transference of the university from Rome to Paris under Charles the Great by Alcuin—the four founders of the university of Paris being Rabanus, Alcuin, Claudius, and Johannes Scotus Erigena. The last chapter is entitled: "On the prophecy of Merlin

concerning the transference of the University to Oxford." It begins: "As Alexander Neckam says, according to the prophecy of Merlin, a university flourishes at Oxford in England, in his time about to pass over to Ireland." The rest of the chapter is a conclusion on the humility of the author. It will be noticed that John of Wales does not venture to assert on his own authority the existence of a university at Oxford where he himself had studied and taught. It illustrates in the most glaring form the mediaeval scholar's distrust of himself and his own time, and his dependence on authority.

The next work of John of Wales in the printed editions¹ is called *Breviloquium de philosophia sive sapientia sanctorum*, a short treatise in eight chapters consisting of extracts from Christian writers. "The examples of the saints," he explains, "are sufficiently clear in the lives of the saints," and he proceeds to what interests him more—*Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum*. It is a collection of narrations about the great men of the ancient world, illustrating the cardinal virtues of Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice, "for the benefit and instruction of rulers," to whom the examples of Alexander, Caesar, Trajan, and so

¹ From cross references in the three works it is clear that the chronological order is as follows: 1. *Breviloquium*. 2. *Communiloquium*. 3. *Compendiloquium*.

forth would be more likely to appeal than the examples of the Christian saints. This is the work of which four Italian translations are extant ; there was evidently in Italy a large demand for this sort of thing among educated laymen in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—a demand which did not yet exist in other countries.

Other works of John of Wales not printed are *Summa de Penitentia*, on confession and penance ; *Summa justitiae* or *Tratatus de Septem Viciis*, in ten parts ; *Moniloquium*, a work in four parts for the use of young preachers, on vices and virtues, punishment and glory (in allusion to the Rule of St. Francis) ; *Legiloquium* on the Ten Commandments ; and a few sermons. The *Manipulus Florum* or *Flores Doctorum* (often printed), a collection of extracts arranged under subjects in alphabetical order, is said to have been begun by John of Wales and finished by Thomas of Ireland, to whom it is generally attributed, and there are several other treatises of doubtful authenticity.¹

Friar John was a man of wide reading. He was

¹ See *Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 144-51. Mr. Craster has pointed out to me that in the account of the moralizations of Ovid (*In fabulas Ovidii*, p. 149) I have confused two distinct works : (1) One beginning "A veritate quidam auditum," MSS. Peterhouse, 12, Merton Coll., 85, 299, St. John's, Oxf., 137, Hereford Cathedral, O. 1, 9, Bodley, 571, 844, printed at Paris, 1509, 1515 ; generally attributed to Nicholas Trivet ; (2) The other beginning "Parvus majori paret," MSS. Bodl. Auct. F., 5, 16 ; Hatton, 92 ; Reims, 741 ; attributed to Johannes Anglicus and Jo. de Garlandia. Probably neither is by John of Wales.

a lover of books and quotes with approval instances of the efforts of men of old to form libraries. He is careful in giving his authorities, and generally, if not always, lets his readers know if he is quoting at second hand. He was ignorant of Greek but knew some Greek writers through translations. Of Plato he knew the *Timaëus* in the version of Chalcidius, with the latter's commentary, and possibly the *Phaëdo*; apart from these his knowledge of Plato was second-hand. Of Aristotle's works he quotes from the *Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, *Topica*, *Physics*, *De coelo et mundo*, *De anima*, *De animalibus*, and from the spurious *De vegetabilibus*, and his letter to Alexander, *i.e.* the *Secretum Secretorum*, of which he gives a partial analysis.¹ He also inserts a life of Aristotle (said to be translated from the Greek), because it was not generally known.² This is not the life given by Diogenes Laertius.

Of Plutarch he quotes only the letter from the spurious *Liber de instructione Trajani*, probably from John of Salisbury.³ It seems doubtful whether he knew Josephus except through the abridged version ascribed to Hegesippus.

The older Latin writers whom he uses most

¹ *Communiloquium*, I. iii. 12. (The summary contains nothing about magic or astrology.)

² *Compendilog.* III. v. 1. It is not clear where his life ends; it cannot extend beyond cap. 5, as after that we get the usual quotations from "Polieratus," Augustine, Cicero, Valerius, etc.

³ *Polycrat.* v. prol.

frequently are Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and Aulus Gellius. Of Cicero he knew the *De officiis*, *De inventione rhetorica*, *De senectute*, *De amicitia*, *De natura Deorum*, *De divinatione*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, and perhaps the *De legibus*. He does not refer to the letters or speeches, and the *De republica* he knew only through St. Augustine. Of Seneca he makes great use; and knew not only the *Epistolae*, the *De beneficiis*, *De clementia*, and *De naturalibus quaestionibus*, but the whole of the *Dialogues*. This is interesting when we remember that Roger Bacon only found a copy of the *Dialogues* in 1267, after twenty years' search.¹ Virgil is quoted fairly often, but sometimes certainly at second hand, and the same may be said of Juvenal; extracts are given from Claudian, Lucan, Ovid, Petronius; but Horace, apart from a quotation from St. Augustine, seems to be represented by a single line, and that not a genuine one.² He did not know Livy, except through extracts in other writers, but he quotes the *Historia Romanorum* of Florus, and Justin's Epitome under the name of Trogus Pompeius. He used also the *Vitae Caesarum*, i.e. Suetonius, the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, and Vegetius *De re militari*. Of Pliny's

¹ *Opus Tert.* (ed. Brewer) p. 56. Cf. *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges), ii. 323.

² "Quod nova testa capit inveterata sapit": *Communiloq.* II. ii. 1. He quotes *Carm.* II. ii. ll. 9-12 from Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, V. xiii., in *Communiloq.* I. iii. 19.

Natural History he makes less use than one might have expected ; one may doubt whether he knew it when he wrote the *Communiloquium*, but it is quoted several times in the *Compendiloquium*. Boethius is of course a favourite of our author, especially the *De consolatione philosophiae*, and there are references to the *De disciplina scholarium* and to the *De arithmetica*.

References to the Bible and to the early Church Fathers, especially St. Augustine, meet us on almost every page. The *De Civitate Dei* and the *Epistles* of St. Jerome are inexhaustible quarries to our author ; and the *Dialogues*, *Homilies*, and *Moralia* of Gregory the Great are hardly less popular. The *Vitae Patrum* supply many examples, and there are several references to the "book called *Paradisus*," i.e. Heraclides of Alexandria, *De vitis sanctorum patrum*. It may be noted that of Bede he only quotes the *Historia Anglorum*, and only two works of Anselm, while St. Bernard's writings are very largely drawn upon. Isidore of Seville is of course used. Among later writers far the most frequently cited is "Policratus," i.e. the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury. Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, is also much used, and there are quotations from Gundisalpinus (*De Ortu Scientiarum*), Innocent III. (*De contemptu mundi*), the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille († 1128), Helynandus (*Gesta Romanorum*), and the Rule of St. Francis.

Bonaventura's *Life of St. Francis*, and "the book called *Speculum*" (*i.e.* the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais, † 1264) seem to be the only strictly contemporary works cited by name. (It may be noted that though John of Wales often uses the same authorities as Vincent of Beauvais, his works are certainly not based on the *Speculum* but seem generally to be compiled from the authorities direct.)¹ It is remarkable that no allusion is made to the *De proprietatibus rerum* of the Franciscan Bartholomew the Englishman. There is one quotation from "Robert bishop of Lincoln," *i.e.* Robert Grosseteste, which does not appear to be in his published works; it may be taken from a sermon to the friars: "From love we ought to give to the brethren all that we can in assistance, in counsel, in good wishes, in good deeds—for the test of love is work."²

An interesting group of authorities used by John of Wales are the writings of the Arabs and those which came through Arabic sources, such as the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. These are Averroes, always called the Commentator, on the *Ethics*, Avicenna's *Metaphysics*, *De anima* and *Philosophia* (?), the *Philosophia* of Algazel, and

¹ Thus in quoting Cicero, *De Senectute*, xx. 72, on Solon and Pisistratus: "qua tandem spe fretus sibi tam audaciter *obsisteret*"; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.* III. 120, reads *resisteret*; John of Wales, *Compend.* III. i. 2 (MS. Royal B xi. f. 131^b), *obsisteret*.

² *Communiloq.* II. v. 3 (ed. Paris, 1516). The last phrase seems to come from Gregory the Great, *Homil. in Evang.* lib. II. xxx. (Migne, lxxvi. 1220) "probatio dilectionis est exhibitio operis."

Alpharabius *De divisione philosophiae*, a work which it is well known had considerable influence on Roger Bacon. As one might expect from Friar John's ignorance of mathematics and physical science, there is no mention of Alhazen.

In his life of Plato, Friar John refers to a ridiculous story about his death, prefacing it with the statement that he does not believe it.¹ "The story comes in a treatise of Gregory Nazianzen on the words of the Apostle: The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. Plato, he says, was walking along the shore looking at the sky as if in contemplation. Some sailors sitting there laughed at him. He asked them what they had caught. They replied: What we have caught, we have not; what we have not caught, we have. For they were catching lice in their clothes—so what they had not caught they still had. But Plato with his mind fixed on fish thought and thought what it could mean and went on puzzling his brain till he could not eat or sleep, and so died. From which the saint infers that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. This I do not maintain." It is not often that Friar John of Wales ventures to give a criticism of his authorities or an opinion of his own. His works were mere compilations, without a trace of originality. He rarely draws

¹ *Compendiloq.* III. iv. 16 (he remarks that the story is also told about Homer).

directly on his own experience ; a popular preacher might do this, as we saw from the *Fasciculus morum*, but it would be undignified in works intended for the education of the clergy ; here appeal must always be made to authorities and the “ wisdom of the ancients.”

He had a genuine respect for learning and a deep admiration for the great men of old, pagans though they were, and on the whole a wide and tolerant outlook ; he did his best by his laborious compilations to adapt all the knowledge he could acquire to the needs of preachers and teachers, and employ it for the salvation of souls.

VI

THE FRANCISCAN SCHOOL AT OXFORD: GROSSETESTE AND ROGER BACON

FATHER HILARIN FELDER in his *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden*¹ makes a remarkable claim for the importance of England in the history of the Franciscan Order in the domains of learning and thought. "The English nation has given to the Franciscan Order a greater number of eminent scholars than all the rest of the nations put together. Indeed, if we consider the real leaders of the Minorite schools, they all belonged, with the exception of Bonaventura, to England." The mere mention of the three most famous names among them—Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham—is sufficient to show that the diversity of their intellectual achievements is even more striking than their unity of origin. Without attempting to estimate the debt which Europe owes to the English Franciscans, I shall confine myself to certain characteristics which distinguished the

¹ Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904 (p. 316).

Oxford school, and which are connected with the name of Roger Bacon.

“Nobody,” says Bacon, “can attain to proficiency in the science of mathematics by the method hitherto known unless he devotes to its study thirty or forty years, as is evident from the case of those who have flourished in those departments of knowledge, such as the lord Robert of holy memory, and Friar Adam Marsh . . . and that is the reason why so few study that science.”¹ Again : “There were found some famous men, as Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, and Adam Marsh, and some others, who knew how by the power of mathematics to unfold the causes of all things and to give a sufficient explanation of human and divine phenomena ; and the assurance of this fact is to be found in the writings of those great men, as, for instance, in their works on the impression [of the elements²], on the rainbow and the comets, on the sphere, and on other questions appertaining both to theology and to natural philosophy.”³ Further : “All the saints and Latin philosophers and poets have had knowledge of foreign languages, and all the wise men of old, many of whom we have seen to survive to our time, such as the bishops of Lincoln and St.

¹ “De communibus Mathematicæ,” quoted in *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, p. 164.

² L. Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste*, i. 89*.

³ *Opus Majus* (Bridges), i. 108.

David's, and Friar Adam Marsh."¹ These three men—Grosseteste, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, Thomas Wallensis, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, and Friar Adam Marsh—were among the first four lecturers to the Franciscans at Oxford,² and gave to the school its distinguishing characteristics, namely, the study of mathematics as the basis of physical science, and the study of languages.

The inspirer of the new movement in both directions was Grosseteste; in his philosophical writings, recently collected and edited by Professor Baur of Tübingen,³ are to be found the germs of most of the ideas developed by Roger Bacon. The most far-reaching and fruitful of these is the idea that natural philosophy must be founded on mathematics; force is always subject to mathematical law, and is propagated (or "multiplied") uniformly and regularly in space and time and can consequently be expressed by "lines, angles and figures." This is the principle which lies at the root of Bacon's Fourth

¹ *Op. Tert.* (ed. Brewer), p. 88. Cf. *Opus Majus* (Bridges), iii. 88.

² Eccleston, pp. 60-64. Of the second lecturer, Peter, nothing is known except that he became a bishop in Scotland and is probably Peter of Ramsey, Bishop of Aberdeen (1247); Eccleston, p. 61, n. b.

³ *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste* (Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Philosophie des Mittelalters, Band IX.) Münster-i.-W., 1912. Cf. Professor Baur's article, "Der Einfluss des Robert Grosseteste auf die wissenschaftliche Richtung des Roger Bacon" in *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, pp. 33-54.

Part of the *Opus Majus*—on the usefulness of mathematics—and is worked out in great detail with special reference to optics in the Fifth Part, “De Perspectiva,” and in the separate treatise, *De multiplicatione specierum*, or on the Propagation of Force. “This,” says Professor Adamson, “is a wonderful step in advance of any preceding thinker. The mere enunciation of such a thought is sufficient to secure for Bacon a high place among those who have written on scientific method.” The idea is, however, found clearly expressed and illustrated by special reference to optics in Grosseteste’s short treatise *De lineis angulis et figuris*.¹ Bacon elaborates it with much fuller scientific knowledge, but he works on Grosseteste’s foundation, and often uses his very expressions. It was the doctrine not merely of a more or less isolated and suspected student, but of the founders of the Franciscan school at Oxford—of Grosseteste and Adam Marsh; it was, in fact, the doctrine taught in the Oxford Franciscan school.

We can very rarely assign a date to Grosseteste’s writings. That Bacon couples his name with that of Adam Marsh in connexion with the doctrine of “the power of mathematics” renders it probable that these theories were developed or expounded while he was lector to the Franciscans, *i.e.* between *c.* 1230 and 1235. However,

¹ Baur, pp. 59-65.

Grosseteste remained alert-minded and went on learning and adding to his knowledge to the end of his long life—even after he became a bishop—assisted by numerous collaborators. One of his scientific treatises—*De impressione aeris* or *De prognosticatione*—bears a late date, 1249, and internal evidence shows that it was written between April 17 and July of that year.¹ It is an astrological treatise—on the influence of the planets. It is much more in accord with the views of Bacon than those of Grosseteste as given in his other works; Bacon, in fact, quotes much of it without acknowledgement.² Further, the date is given according to the Mohammedan calendar—a practice not infrequently adopted by Bacon, but nowhere else by Grosseteste, except in the *De computo*, where he is dealing expressly with the subject of calendars. The question arises—was Bacon assisting Grosseteste in 1249? Bacon was then probably about thirty-five years of age, and already a person of distinction. Many years before he had undertaken a work on the Care of Old Age at the suggestion of Philip (de Grève), Chancellor of Paris († 1236).³ It is certain that Grosseteste exercised a profound influence on the Oxford Franciscans. There is also the possibility to be con-

¹ Baur, pp. 74*, 49.

² *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges), i. 259-61.

³ MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 6978 f. 27^v; *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, p. 4.

sidered ; whether the Oxford Franciscans influenced Grosseteste's intellectual development.

In many other cases it may be shown that Bacon's physical theories are identical with those of Grosseteste. Thus the explanation of the generation of heat through motion, which Dr. Vogl regarded as a peculiar merit of Roger Bacon,¹ is given in Grosseteste's treatise *De calore solis*—the only difference is that Bacon speaks of "rarefactio" and "distractio" of the atoms composing a heavy body, and Grosseteste uses the word "disgregatio."² Both of them apply their theory of the "multiplicatio specierum" or Propagation of Force to the investigation of the climates, temperature, tides, and so on, of different parts of the world ; Grosseteste's *De natura locorum* forms a continuation of his *De lineis angulis et figuris*, and some chapters of the Fourth Part of Bacon's *Opus Majus* are devoted to the investigation of the "complexiones locorum" "per multiplicationes praedictas";³ but it is characteristic of Bacon, of his dissatisfaction with the purely deductive method, and of his appreciation of the importance of accumulating positive knowledge, that he appends to the Fourth Part of the *Opus Majus* a detailed geographical treatise (accompanied by a map of the world on parchment,

¹ S. Vogl, *Die Physik Roger Bacon* (Erlangen, 1906), p. 88.

² *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges), i. 167 seq. : Baur, *Die phil. Werke d. Rob. Grosseteste*, pp. 86*, 79-84.

³ *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges), i. 132 seq.

now unfortunately lost).¹ This is based not only on the early geographers and historians, but also on the experience and reports of the great Franciscan travellers and missionaries of his own time, such as Giovanni de Piano de Carpine² and William de Rubruck: "I have perused his book diligently (he says of the latter) and conferred with the author, and with many others who have investigated the geography of the East and South."³

The principle that "the conclusions arrived at by argument must be verified by experiment"⁴ permeates Bacon's thought and writings far more than it did those of Grosseteste. But the question how far Bacon actually experimented is not easy to answer. After he entered the Franciscan Order (the date is uncertain) he must have had additional difficulties to contend with—want of money, lack of privacy, suspicion of any novelties on the part of his superiors, who were naturally especially nervous after the publication of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" (1254) had shaken the Order to its foundations. Bacon nowhere lays down any rules for experi-

¹ *Opus Majus*, pp. 286-376; on the map, see *ibid.* p. 300; and *Opus Tert.* (ed. Little), pp. 9, 10.

² *Opus Majus*, p. 371.

³ *Ibid.* p. 305.

⁴ Cf. *Opus Majus*, ii. 167-72; iii. 180. In the latter place Bridges gives valuable readings from the Vatican MS., which he neglected when editing the text: *e.g.* "Et si argumentum non sufficit ad certificationem veritatis, longe minus auctoritas sufficit, quoniam debilior est ratione," etc.

ment, and is not a little vague on the whole subject; he seems to use “*experientia*” and “*experimentum*” as interchangeable—and “*scientia experimentalis*,” which is the subject of the Sixth Part of the *Opus Majus*, includes not only physical but spiritual experience, and the first step in this “*scientia interior*” as he calls the latter is “*per illuminationes pure scientiales*”;¹ in other words, by scientific imagination or intuition. Bacon, standing at the beginning of a movement, failed to distinguish between a number of ideas and processes which have since been more or less clearly differentiated.

He gives a detailed example of what he means by investigating through experimental science, in the observation of the rainbow.² The “*experimentator*” will begin by collecting phenomena of the same type—colours in crystals, or polished surfaces, dew, spray from a mill-wheel, etc. He will observe with the help of instruments the relation between the altitude of the bow and that of the sun, and will show that the centre of the bow, of the eye and of the sun are in one straight line, and so forth. It is really a confirmation of mathematical reasoning by observation.

In his researches on optics it is not true to say that he “*experimented only in imagination*.”³

¹ *Opus Majus*, ii. 170.

² *Ibid.* ii. 172-201.

³ Duhem in *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, p. 262.

If he had relied entirely on mathematical argument, he would not have gone to great trouble and expense in making lenses or getting them made. "The first mirror (or lens) cost £60 Paris, which are equivalent to about £20 sterling; but afterwards I had them made for £10 Paris, *i.e.* for 5 marks sterling [=£3 : 6 : 8], and later, having made diligent investigation in these things I have found that better ones could be made for 2 marks or 20s. or even less."¹ In the *Opus Majus* he says: "We can so arrange lenses . . . that we can read the smallest writing at an incredible distance."² There can be no doubt that he had invented a combination of lenses which amounted to a telescope without the enclosing tube.

In his medical treatises further evidence may be found both of his appreciation of the value of experiments and of his own attempts in this direction. Bacon's medical treatises are mostly not original, but based on Arabic and indirectly on Greek authorities. But he certainly assimilated some ideas which were new to the West. Take, for instance, one piece of advice he gives on the way to keep young: "Listen to beautiful music, look at beautiful things, hold stimulating

¹ Quoted by E. Charles, *Roger Bacon* (1864), p. 305, from MS. Royal 7 F viii. f. 4, an amplified version of the earlier part of the *De multipl. specierum* (as yet unpublished).

² *Opus Majus* (Bridges), ii. 165. Cf. R. Steele's article on Roger Bacon in *Quarterly Review*, July 1914, p. 253.

conversations with sympathetic friends, wear your best clothes, and talk to pretty girls.”¹ It was a good thing to give this prescription to the Western world in the thirteenth century, when the imagination, taste and sense of beauty were left uncultivated and unrecognised in the theory and practice of education and morals. But some of the treatises show originality. In one, Bacon is groping his way towards the discovery of the thermometer.² In another, “On the Errors of Medical Men,” he enumerates the defects of their education; they are ignorant of chemistry and botany (or “scientific agriculture”) which are essential to any rational understanding of drugs; further, for many years past, owing to the prevalence of logic in the schools, they have given themselves up to wordy disputations and neglected experience, by which alone the truth can be certainly established. He goes on to plead that there is more excuse for doctors than for other men of science because the human body is too noble a material to be experimented on. He experimented, however, on his own body with drugs. His violent denunciations of a purgative, called by its inventor “Benedicta,” seem to be the result of painful personal experience; he proposes to change its name to “Maledicta.” His favourite drug was rhubarb. He becomes

¹ *Liber de sermone rei admirabilis.*

² *De graduatione medicinarum.*

enthusiastic about it; "It is a most noble thing and answers admirably to the human body, and among all medicines it alone comforts the natural heat and strengthens the body, as is clear in Aristotle's Book of Secrets, and I have found this by experience in my own body; all other medicines weaken more or less, this alone strengthens."

What evidence is there again of Bacon experimenting with gunpowder? He mentions gunpowder in three works: in the "Letter on the Wonderful Power of Nature and Art,"¹ in the *Opus Majus* and the *Opus Tertium*. In the letter cap. 6, "On Wonderful Experiments," he says: "At any distance we like we can make fire from saltpetre and other things. . . . Sounds like thunder can be made and flashes in the air more dreadful than those made by nature. For a small quantity of the material properly prepared, the size of a thumb, produces a horrible noise and vivid flash. And this is done in many ways, so that a whole army or city may be destroyed . . . if one knew how to use the material fully mixed in due proportions." In cap. 8 he says he will now explain the wonders he has mentioned, but it is not wise to give these secrets to the vulgar; the wise have used various methods to hide their secrets, ciphers of various kinds, and

¹ Printed by Brewer in Appendix to *Opera Ined.* (Rolls Series) and elsewhere.

some of these he will make use of in the following pages. The remaining chapters, 9, 10, 11, are devoted to "methods of making the philosophers' egg" or stone. As they stand they are absolute nonsense and read like a parody of an alchemical treatise on the transmutation of base metals into gold. Colonel Hime¹ was led to the true explanation of this apparent rubbish by a formula or anagram in the last chapter. This runs: "Of saltpetre LURU VOPO VIR CAN UTRIET of sulphur, and so you will make an explosion if you know the trick." But saltpetre and sulphur will not explode; therefore the name of some third substance must be concealed in the anagram, and probably the proportions. The third substance is known to be charcoal—and Bacon has referred to this in other parts of the work as charcoal of hazel or willow "novelle coruli." Rearranging the letters of the anagram, Colonel Hime obtained the result: "Of saltpetre take 7 parts, 5 of young hazelwood, and 5 of sulphur,"² a recipe for making gunpowder. The previous enigmatic chapters then probably dealt with the preparation of these materials—at any rate of saltpetre, which had only been recently discovered in the first half of the thirteenth century, and which requires very elaborate refining. Now in

¹ *Gunpowder and Ammunition*, by Lieut.-Colonel H. W. L. Hime (late) R.A. (1904), pp. 141-62; and *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, pp. 321-35.

² "Salis petrae R. VII. PART. V. NOV. CORUL. V. ET sulphuris."

these chapters there is clearly a great deal of padding ; the inference is, that there are certain essential words and phrases which, read consecutively without the padding, give the real meaning. A cipher of this kind is almost impossible to solve without the key ; and the only key which Colonel Hime possessed was knowledge of the subject. Working on this assumption he extracted the phrases which seemed relevant, and these read consecutively in the order in which they occur give a method of refining saltpetre " which falls little short of the modern method pursued at Waltham Abbey." " It is incredible," he concludes, " that a long, varied, and connected process such as the refining of saltpetre, could be extracted by any method from documents professedly devoted to the philosopher's stone, unless the process had been designedly inserted there by the author himself." The date of this treatise is unknown ; it was probably written some time before the *Opus Majus*.

The passage from the *Opus Majus* (1267) on explosives mentions a child's toy made in various parts of the world, consisting of parchment the size of a man's thumb, which, when broken, produces, owing to the violence of the salt called saltpetre, a roar and a flash worse than thunder and lightning.¹ The first recorded use of gun-

¹ *Opus Majus* (Bridges), ii. 218.

powder was to make fireworks to amuse children. In the *Opus Tertium* Bacon writes: "By the flash and combustion of fires, and by the horror of sounds, wonders can be wrought, and at any distance that we wish—so that a man can hardly protect himself or endure it. There is a child's toy of sound and fire made in various parts of the world with powder of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal of hazelwood. This powder is enclosed in an instrument of parchment the size of a finger, and when this can make such a noise that it seriously distresses the ears of men, especially if one is taken unawares, and the terrible flash is also very alarming—if an instrument of large size were used, no one could stand the terror of the noise and flash. If the instrument were made of solid material, the violence of the explosion would be much greater."¹ This is the last word that we have from Bacon on gunpowder. The last sentence points to a fresh development—gunpowder in an instrument made of solid material. He is feeling his way towards the discovery of the projective force of gunpowder under pressure. But Europe had to wait some fifty years longer for this doubtful blessing.²

The proper study of the Franciscans at Oxford was theology. But all other sciences were handmaids to theology. Bartholomew the

¹ *Opus Tert.* (ed. Little), p. 51.

² Hime, *The Origin of Artillery* (1915), p. 120 *seq.*

Englishman, whose *De proprietatibus rerum* (written about 1250) became the most popular treatise on natural history in the Middle Ages, regarded his work as a commentary on the Bible.¹ Bonaventura, in his letter to the 'Unnamed master,' whom early tradition identifies with Roger Bacon,² declared that "without practical knowledge of other sciences the Holy Scriptures cannot be understood";³ and Bacon's definition of philosophy as "the endeavour to arrive at a knowledge of the Creator through knowledge of the created world"⁴ spans the gulf between theology and gunpowder. Between theology and the study of languages the connexion is close and obvious.

¹ See his preface: "Ad intelligenda aenigmata scripturarum quae sub symbolis et figuris proprietatum rerum naturalium et artificialium a Spiritu sancto sunt traditae et relatae," etc. Cf. Roger Bacon, *Op. Tert.* (Brewer), pp. 81-2—probably alluding to Bartholomew's treatise: ". . . tota sapientia utilis homini continetur in sacris litteris, licet non totaliter explicatur; sed ejus explicatio est jus canonicum cum philosophia . . . nam in sensu litterali jacet tota philosophiae potestas in naturis et proprietatibus rerum naturalium, artificialium et moralium; ut per convenientes adaptationes et similitudines eliciantur sensus spirituales; ut sic simul sciatur philosophia cum theologia; quia philosophia nihil facit nisi explicare naturas et proprietates rerum naturalium quae jacent in textu sacro . . . et artificialium et moralium; sicut pono ibi exemplum de Iride. Unde haec est via propria sciendi scripturam et via sanctorum et omnium sapientum antiquorum; ut episcopi Lincolniensis et fratris Adae et aliorum; ut sic tota philosophiae sapientia sciatur in textu Dei."

² See Register of London Grey Friars, *Mon. Franc.* i. 533; Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 187. *Catalogue of Library of Syon Monastery* (Bateson), xxx. 218.

³ *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia* (ed. Guaracchi), viii. 335.

⁴ *Opus Majus* (Bridges), i. 42.

Here again the impulse seems to have been given by Grosseteste, and the tradition which he established was carried on by his successors in the Franciscan school, Thomas of Wales and Friar Adam Marsh.

Bacon puts Grosseteste's linguistic attainments much lower than his scientific. "Greek and Hebrew he did not know well enough to translate them by himself, but he had many assistants."¹ "He did not know languages well enough to translate except towards the end of his life."² All Grosseteste's translations from the Greek—the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Ethics of Aristotle, the Pseudo-Dionysian writings—were made after he became bishop of Lincoln;³ Matthew Paris gives the date of the first as 1242.⁴ A letter to the Abbot and Convent of Peterborough gives us a glimpse of Grosseteste reading and translating Greek for pleasure during a few days' respite from official labours, probably in 1238.⁵ It may be inferred without hesitation that he inculcated the study of languages by precept and example, while he was lector to the Oxford Franciscans.

In the study of languages Grosseteste's direct

¹ *Op. Ined.* (Brewer), p. 472.

² *Ibid.* p. 91.

³ Cf. Baur, *Die philos. Werke d. R. Grosseteste*, 43*.

⁴ *Chron. Maj.* iv. 232. William of Nottingham in his *Concordia Evangel.* (MS. Royal 4 E ii.) quotes Dionysius de divinis nominibus "secundum translationem Lincolniensis."

⁵ *Rob. Grosseteste Epistolae* (R.S.), p. 173.

influence may probably be traced in Bacon's rules or principles of translation;¹ in discussing ambiguities he refers to Grosseteste's notes on the double meaning of "virtus," which may represent the Greek ἀρετή "quae significat virtutem moralem" or the Greek δύναμις "quae significat potentiam naturalem ordinatam ad actum naturalem."² Both insist on the impossibility of a word-for-word translation, and consequently on the need for a translator to have a thorough knowledge both of the two languages and of the subject with which he is dealing. But in general Bacon seems to have pursued his own lines independently of Grosseteste. The latter, it will be remembered, introduced some modern Greeks into England to assist in the revival of the study of Greek. These used the system of declensions of Theodosius, i.e. 35 masculine declensions, 12 feminine, and 9 neuter—a system which is followed in the Graeco-Latin lexicon (now in the College of Arms) which was compiled by some scholar in Grosseteste's circle. Bacon refers to the Theodosian system in his Greek grammar, but rejects it for a simpler method.³

In Part III. of the *Opus Majus*, "De utilitate

¹ *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, p. 41.

² Baur, *Die philos. Werke d. R. Grosseteste*, p. 38; *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon*, ed. Nolan and Hirsch, p. 118.

³ *Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon*, p. 146; M. R. James, "A Graeco-Latin Lexicon of the Thirteenth Century" in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Chatelain* (Paris, 1910), 396 seq. Cf. Dr. Hirsch's article in *Roger Bacon Commem. Essays*, pp. 101-51.

Grammaticae," and elsewhere, where he returns to the subject, Bacon urges the need of the study of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaean, because all the "texts" in theology, philosophy, and science are written in these languages. Besides this main argument "propter studium sapientiae absolutum,"¹ he adduces certain secondary and utilitarian arguments: (1) words of Greek and Hebrew origin are used in the liturgy; (2) knowledge of languages is necessary for foreign trade and diplomacy, the Latins or Westerns are endlessly swindled because they are ignorant of foreign languages;² (3) such knowledge is necessary also for the conversion of the infidel.³ This leads Bacon to an impassioned protest against force and plea for persuasion in the dealings of Christians with unbelievers. It goes beyond but is in accord with the more guarded declaration of Adam Marsh⁴ that Crusades are no substitute for preaching.

"In the hands of the Latins," says Roger Bacon, "resides the power of converting. And so among us infinite numbers of Jews perish, because no one knows how to preach to them or interpret the Scriptures in their language, nor argue or dispute with them according to the literal meaning. . . . O what unspeakable loss of

¹ *Opus Majus* (Bridges), iii. 115.

² *Ibid.* p. 119.

³ Cf. also *Opus Tert.* (Brewer), p. 88.

⁴ *Mon. Franc.* i. 416, 434.

souls, though it would be easy for countless Jews to be converted ! And it is still worse because from them began the foundation of our faith, and we ought to consider that they are of the seed of the patriarchs and the prophets, and, what is more, from their stem the Lord was born, and the glorious Virgin, and apostles, and saints innumerable have descended. Further the Greeks and Ruthenians and many other schismatics likewise persist in error because the truth is not preached to them in their own language—and Saracens also and Pagans and Tartars, and the rest of the unbelievers throughout the world. Nor is war effective against them, because sometimes the Church is defeated in the wars of Christians, as often happens oversea, and especially in the last expedition, that, namely, of the King of France, as all the world knows ; and elsewhere if the Christians are victorious, no one stays behind to defend the countries won. Nor are the unbelievers converted in this way, but killed and sent to hell. The rest who survive the wars and their children are more and more embittered against the Christian faith owing to these wars, and are infinitely alienated from the faith of Christ, and inflamed to do all the harm they can to Christians. Hence the Saracens and pagans in many parts of the world are becoming quite impossible to convert ; and especially beyond the sea, and in Prussia and the lands bordering on

Germany, because the brethren of the German House [*i.e.* Teutonic knights] ruin all hopes of converting them owing to the wars which they are always stirring up, and because of their lust of domination. There is no doubt that all the heathen nations beyond Germany would long ago have been converted but for the brutality of the brethren of the German House, because the pagan race has again and again been ready to receive the faith in peace through preaching. But they of the German House will not allow it, because they want to subjugate them and reduce them to slavery, and by subtle persuasions they have for many years deceived the Roman Church. This is notorious, otherwise I would not make the charge. Besides, the faith did not enter into this world by arms but by simple preaching. And again and again we have heard and know of many who, though their knowledge of languages was imperfect and their interpreters feeble, yet have done great good by teaching, and made countless converts to the Christian faith. O how earnestly ought we to consider this matter, how fearful we should be that God will require it of the Latins that through their neglect of languages they neglect the preaching of the faith ! ”¹

Bacon was not content with urging the need of the study of languages ; he himself facilitated the study not only by inserting notes on Greek

¹ *Opus Majus*, Pars III. cap. xiii. (Bridges, iii. 120-22).

and Hebrew in his larger works, but by compiling grammatical manuals. Two versions of a Greek grammar by him have been discovered: one in a MS. at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; the other in the Cambridge University Library; the first is fairly complete; it ends with the paradigm of $\tauύπτω$, but does not contain the paradigm of verbs in $-μι$ to which Bacon refers elsewhere in the work; the other is a mere fragment. Also in the same MS. of the Cambridge University Library is a fragment of a Hebrew grammar undoubtedly by Bacon. These three have been edited.¹ There is also in existence in MS. at Peterhouse and in the Worcester Cathedral Library another grammatical work by Bacon, *Summa Grammaticae*, not yet edited.² No trace has been found of an Arabic grammar which Bacon perhaps hoped to compile;³ it is doubtful whether he possessed sufficient knowledge of the language to write one.

The movement emanating from the Franciscan school at Oxford reached its highest manifestation in Roger Bacon, but (1) it produced further results, and (2) it coalesced with similar movements which had independent origins.

(1) Among the *correctoria* of the Bible text

¹ By Nolan and Hirsch, Cambridge, 1902.

² Peterhouse, 191; Worcester Cathedral, Q. 13.

³ *Opus Tert.* (Brewer), p. 88; "De Arabica tango locis suis; sed nihil scribo Arabice sicut Hebraee Graece et Latine," he says in describing the contents of the *Opus Majus*, Part III.

there exists in several manuscripts of the thirteenth century a collection of notes on the Old Testament showing a remarkable knowledge of the principles of textual criticism and of Greek and Hebrew grammar. This work resembles Bacon's utterances on the revision of the Bible (especially in the *Opus Minus*) so closely that it has sometimes been attributed to him; it is, however, probably by his contemporary whom he calls "homo sapientissimus."¹ Whoever the author may have been, there was a close connexion between him and Bacon. Another work of the same kind in which Bacon's influence can probably be traced is the *correctorium* ascribed to the Franciscan, William de Mara, who flourished c. 1282.²

In manuscripts formerly belonging to English Franciscans are occasionally to be found scraps of transliterated Greek and Hebrew. Thus a

¹ On the whole subject see Denifle's articles (unfortunately left unfinished) on "Die Handschriften der Bibel-correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts" in *A.L.K.G.* iv. 263-311, 471-601. The *correctorium* most closely allied to Bacon is preserved in MSS. Vat. Lat. 4240, and Laurent. Plut. xxv. sin. cod. 4, f. 101-17 (fragment). It is ascribed to Friar Gerard de Hoio; *A.L.K.G.* iv. 477. The resemblances to Bacon are pointed out by Denifle, pp. 298-311. Bacon mentions the "homo sapientissimus" in *Opus Tert.* (ed. Brewer), p. 89, *Opus Minus*, pp. 317, 320.

² For the MSS. see *A.L.K.G.* iv. 265 (D). The Toulouse MS. (No. 402) is quoted, and its importance pointed out, in Samuel Berger's *Quam notitiam linguae Hebraicae habuerint Christiani medii aevi temporibus in Gallia*, Paris, 1893. William de Mara's criticism of Thomas Aquinas was published before 1282 (not in 1284, as stated in *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 215): see Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, i. 102.

fly-leaf of a manuscript in St. John's College, Cambridge (No. 169), formerly belonging to the Franciscans of Hereford, contains the Lord's Prayer in Greek and Hebrew, the Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, and other portions of the Service in Greek—all are written in Latin characters.¹ Where such transliterations are found in English MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the probability is in favour of a Franciscan provenance. Among later English Franciscans who had a considerable knowledge of Greek and Hebrew may be mentioned Henry of Cossey, 46th Master of the Friars at Cambridge about 1330, and leader of the English friars in their revolt against Pope John XXII.; he was the author of commentaries on the Psalms and Apocalypse.²

(2) The advisability of learning modern languages was strongly brought home to the first Franciscan missionaries to Germany, who knew only one word of German, and when asked if they were heretics smilingly answered "Ja."³ While the Dominicans at the instigation of Raymond de Pennaforte established schools for the study of Arabic as early as 1250,⁴ the Fran-

¹ See M. R. James, "Library of the Grey Friars of Hereford," in *Brit. Soc. Franc. Studies*, v.

² M. R. James, in *Cambridge Modern History*, i.; and *Catalogue of MSS. at Christ's Coll., Cambridge*, No. 11; Eccleston, p. 73; *Bull. Franc.* v. Nos. 809, 849.

³ *Jordani chronica*, ed. H. Boehmer, p. 5.

⁴ Douais, *Organisation des Études chez les Frères Prêcheurs*, p. 135.

ciscans seem to have had no special institution for this purpose until 1275-6, when Raymond Lull founded his college in Majorca.¹ Meanwhile the papacy had taken up the subject. Innocent IV. arranged for the support, at the expense of the churches and monasteries of France, of ten boys skilled in Arabic and other Oriental languages at the university of Paris; they were to study theology there, and then act as missionaries beyond seas.² This decree was repeated by subsequent popes to Honorius IV., the number being increased from ten to twenty.³ There was no question here of teaching Oriental languages in the West, but of teaching theology to some persons who already knew those languages. The policy was altered by the Council of Vienne in 1312; Clement V. ordered that schools should be established in the Roman curia, and at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca for the teaching of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldaean; two competent teachers of each language were to be appointed at each place, those at Oxford being supported by contributions from the prelates, monasteries, chapters, convents, colleges, and rectors of churches in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.⁴ We may see in this decision of the Pope and Council

¹ Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliogr. della Terra Santa*, i. p. 365.

² *Chartul. Univ. Paris*, i. pp. 212, 213.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 372, 638.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 154-55.

the effect of Roger Bacon's arguments; the languages mentioned are those which he recommended, and differ from those mentioned by Raymond Lull in his letter to the University of Paris in 1298.¹ A few years later a converted Jew appears as lecturing on Hebrew and Chaldaean at Paris, but to John XXII.'s inquiry what lecturers in these languages there were at Paris, and whether any students attended the courses, no answer has been preserved.²

At Oxford there is very little evidence of the decree having been carried out. A tax of one farthing in the £ on ecclesiastical goods was imposed in the province of Canterbury in 1320, "for the stipend of the convert teaching the Hebrew tongue at Oxford, and for the general affairs of the Church,"³ and some attempt was made to collect the tax in the dioceses of Lincoln and Winchester, and perhaps others.⁴ The cathedral priory of Worcester actually paid 12d. in 1321, "for the master of the Greeks at Oxford" (the monks were evidently vague on the exact nature of the scheme), and in 1325 a contribution

¹ *Chartul. Univ. Paris*. i. p. 84: "studium Arabicum Tartaricum et Grecum." Cf. Bacon in *Compendium studii* (ed. Brewer, R.S.), p. 433: "Prima igitur est scientia linguarum sapientialium a quibus tota Latinorum sapientia translata est; cujusmodi sunt Graecum, Hebraeum, Arabicum et Chaldaicum."

² *Chartul. Univ. Paris*, ii. p. 293.

³ Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii. 500.

⁴ *Register of Bp. Rigaud de Asserio* (Winchester) (ed. Baigent), p. 389.

of 17½d. was received from the Abbot of Westminster out of the revenues of his church of Oakham "for the expenses of the masters lecturing in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaean languages in the University."¹ I have found no later reference to the subject.

Paris and Oxford afforded poor soil for the growth of linguistic studies. But were the seeds so carefully sown and tended by Grosseteste and Roger Bacon lost, or were they transplanted to a more fruitful soil? Did they come to fruit in the Italian Renaissance? It might be worth while to investigate from this point of view the literary history of the court of King Robert of Naples, and an examination of the Neapolitan archives might give valuable results. Robert of Naples forms a link between the Franciscans and the early Italian humanists.² With the Franciscan school at Oxford he had some slight connexion. William of Alnwick, who preceded the Baconian, William Herbert, as lecturer to the friars at Oxford, was later called to the University of Naples, and finally appointed bishop of Giuvenazzo by King Robert.³ It will possibly be found that King Robert's youthful essay on the

¹ Westm. Abbey Muniments 29465. I am indebted to the Rev. Canon Pearce for a copy of this document.

² Cf. *König Robert von Neapel, 1309-1343*, by W. Goetz (Tübingen, 1910).

³ Eccleston, p. 69: "frater Willelmus de Alnewyke qui postea apud montem (= Paris), Bononiae, Neapoly legit, demum episcopus"; *Bull. Franc.* v. pp. 537, 544.

*Dicta et opiniones philosophorum*¹ owes something to the *Compendiloquium*, or to the *Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum* of John of Wales; the latter treatise, as we have seen, attracted the educated laity of Italy in the fourteenth century.² To King Robert Arnold de Villeneuve dedicated his book, *De conservatione juventutis et retardatione senectutis*, which is largely based on one of Bacon's medical treatises.³ Among the books transcribed for King Robert we note a *De perspectiva* (perhaps the fifth part of Bacon's *Opus Majus*), and several translations from Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew.⁴ If we could find the catalogue of King Robert's library, it might throw new light on the origins of the Renaissance.

But however this may be—if the thirteenth-century revival of letters died an early death (choked by logic), and had no direct influence on the later Renaissance, it was different with the scientific movement. The interest taken in Roger

¹ Siragusa, *L'ingegno il sapere e gl'intendimenti di Roberto d'Angio* (Palermo, 1891), gives a few passages from this treatise in his Introduction. It is not printed.

² See above, pp. 175, 186. It was written at the instance of the Bishop of Maguelonne (Montpellier), presumably Berenger de Fredol: MS. Oriel Coll., 34. Robert of Naples lived in Provence in his childhood.

³ E. Withington in *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, p. 353.

⁴ Faraglia has printed some notes from the Neapolitan Archives on Robert's library (payments to scribes, etc.) in an article on "Barbato de Sulmona e gli uomini di lettere della corte di Roberto d'Angio," *Arch. stor. ital.* ser. v. vol. iii.

Bacon's works was continuous. Friar Thomas Bungay, whom ancient tradition¹ associates with Bacon, was the tenth lector to the Friars at Oxford. John Pecham, the eleventh lector, studied mathematics and optics under Bacon, and was first attracted and finally repelled by his astrological theories.² William Herbert, who afterwards became lector at Oxford, was at Paris about the time of Bacon's death and diligently collected MSS. of his works for the friary at Hereford.³ Before the end of the thirteenth century attempts were made to "edit" Bacon by collecting together passages from his writings bearing on the same or kindred subjects.⁴ Pierre Dubois recommended the study of his mathematical work at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁵ The large number of MSS. of his *Perspectiva*, or Optics, still existing,⁶ some of them "school copies," and references to it in disputations at Oxford show that the work was studied and regarded as authoritative in the fourteenth

¹ Can the tradition be traced earlier than the sixteenth century? It may be worth noticing that in the Dengie Hundred of Essex, near Tillingham, are two adjacent farms called Bacons and Bungays. Bacons was held in 1282 by Gilbert Bacon. See T. Wright's *Hist. of Essex*.

² See Pecham's *Canticum pauperis pro dilecto*, in *Bibl. Franc. Ascetica*, iv. (Quaracchi) p. 136.

³ M. R. James, "The Grey Friars Library at Hereford," in *Collectanea Franciscana*, i. (*Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies*, vol. v.); *Lanercost Chron.*, 135.

⁴ See MSS. Tanner 116 in the Bodleian; and Escorial g. iii. 17.

⁵ *De recuperacione Terrae Sanctae* (ed. Langlois), p. 65.

⁶ See list in *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, pp. 382-84.

and fifteenth centuries. But his influence extended beyond the Middle Ages; through Pierre d' Ailly and the *Imago Mundi* Bacon reaches out his hand to Columbus; through Paul of Middleburg and the reform of the calendar, to Copernicus.¹ Bacon was not an isolated phenomenon, but an important link in the chain of scientific development.

The intense spiritual fervour which marked the early years of the Franciscan movement was of short duration. It was followed by a period of intense intellectual activity. The study of the history of all religious bodies leaves a feeling of disappointment; they all fall so far short of the ideals from which they started. If this feeling is specially emphasized after a study of the history of the Franciscan Order, this is partly due not only to the beauty and nobility of their ideal, but also to the greatness of their achievements at certain times. In the history of associations as in the history of individuals the "hours of gloom" exceed the "hours of insight," but it is the hours of insight that count in the life of humanity as in the life of the individual.

¹ For references see list in *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays*, p. 30.

APPENDIX

I

LECTURE I. p. 14

Aqueduct of the Grey Friars of Oxford

THE following is one of the few unprinted documents relating to the Franciscan house at Oxford which have come to light since the publication of my *Grey Friars in Oxford*. It is uncertain whether the alms here mentioned was used for the conduit. The friars took up the pipes of the conduit shortly before the Dissolution with the intention apparently of selling the lead (*Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 117).

Robert Cross was Provincial Minister c. 1280–1285. I do not know when Edward I. was at Biggleswade. The lower left-hand corner of the parchment is torn off; there is also a hole near the beginning of the letter.

P.R.O. Ancient Correspondence, xvi. 90.

Illustrissimo et religiosissimo principi E. d[ei gratia R]egi Anglie Domino Hibernie duci Aquitanie frater Robertus de Cruce omnem secundum deum [reverenciam ?] et honorem. Quia nuper in presencia vestra apud Biteswade constituto iniunxit [mihi ?] vestra

serenitas ut significarem vobis per literam quid consulerem de illa elemosina fieri, cuius mihi mencionem fecistis ibidem, Excellencie vestre facio manifestum quod fratres nostri Oxon' multos et periculosos paciuntur defectus propter unius aqueductus carentiam. Aqua enim putei quam haurimus quotidie, quam et cibi[s] nostris omni die immiscemus et aliquociens diebus penitentialibus bibimus, et, quod plus est ponderandum, vino sacri altaris infundimus, est valde cor[rupta]. Un]de si placuit vestre dominacioni prefatam elemosinam assignare in [supplementum] predictorum defectuum, puto quod plus placebit deo quam quod esset iniecta. Existimo quod dominus E. frater vester communica [?] sicut facit fratribus Cantebrig' sui gratia quando circa (?) occupati. Quedam autem bona matrona assignavit r' c' (?) retribuatur ei deus. Valeat et vigeat sanctitas in domino Jesu Christo.

II

LECTURE I. pp. 20, 46

There are reports of all the English Franciscan Houses after the Dissolution in the Ministers' Accounts except the houses at Oxford, Reading, Bedford, and Aylesbury (see *P.R.O. Lists and Indexes* ; No. xxxiv., *Ministers' Accounts*, II.). The two last are among the five Franciscan houses included in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 (namely Coventry, iii. 57 ; Walsingham, iii. 388 ; Bedford, iv. 190 ; Aylesbury, iv. 248 ; Northampton, iv. 318). In the case of some of the Houses the Ministers' Accounts merely record that no account is given : thus the ministers report that nothing has been received from the Friars Minor of Norwich, "eo quod Thomas dux Norff" dictum scitum . . . habet et tenet colore et virtute literarum patentium domini Regis sibi inde confectarum

ut dicitur: tamen Nota pro illis literis patentibus videndis, etc.” Similarly there was nothing to record of the Friars Minor of Yarmouth because the king had given the house with other lands “ dilecto ad tunc conciliario suo Thome Cromwell militi comiti Essex,” etc., in exchange. In most cases details are given of the site, houses, lands, and tenements, their annual value and acreage and the names of tenants. As a specimen I give the account of the Grey Friars of Coventry.¹

P.R.O. Ministers' Accounts 7311 (30-31 Hen. VIII.)

[Marginal heading torn and partly illegible.]

. possessiones nuper domus [minorum ?]
fratrum [?] in civitate Couen’.

[Computus] prefati Johannis ffoster collectoris [redditu-
tum ibidem per] tempus predictum.

Nulla quia primus computus dicti com- Arreragia.
putantis ad usum domini regis.

Summa nulla.

Sed r[espondit] de vjs viij^d de firma omnium edificiorum
domorum aularum conclauorum et camerarum Firme.
quarumcunque cum suis pertinenciis scitua-
tarum et existentium infra precinctum domus et
ecclesie nuper fratrum minorum predictorum ex parte
occidentali claustrum ibidem iacencium in longitudine a
domo siue camera ibidem vocata le scolehouse ex
parte boriali vsque ad cameram vocatam the lady
Euynghearns chambre ex parte australi, ac cum vno
gardino cum omni terra et so[lo] iacenti inter domos
et edificia predictas et murum lapideum ciuitatis pre-
dicte in latitudine et in longitudine a conductu aque ad
finem occidentem ibidem existenti vsque ad les Garners
ibidem dimissarum Thome Gregory per indenturam
sub sigillo communi nuper domus predicte datam x^{mo}

¹ I am indebted to Miss Rose Graham for revising my very hasty and incomplete transcript of this document.

die Augusti Anno regni Regis Henrici VIII^{ui} xxix^{no} [1537] Habendum et tenendum omnia edificia domos aulas conclaua cameras gardinum terram et cetera premissa [cum] suis pertinenciis prefato Thome Gregory et Assignatis suis a festo S. Michaelis Archangeli proxime futuro post datum Indenture predicte vsque ad finem termini xxx^a annorum ex tunc proxime sequentium et plenarie complendorum reddendo inde annuatim vi^s viii^d ad festa Annunciacionis beate Marie Virginis et sancti Michaelis archangeli equis porcionibus. Et prefatus Thomas et assignati sui onerantur cum reparacione omnium premissorum durante termino predicto et cetera ut in eadem indentura plenius continetur hoc anno termini sui secundo. Et de vi^s viii^d de firma vnus aule iuxta Chellesmore infra precinctum domus et ecclesie fratrum minorum predictorum vocate le Wardens chambre cum omnibus cameris sellariis et aliis edificiis eidem aule pertinentibus siue iacentibus cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinenciis ac vnus pomerii vocati le ffryers orchard cum omnibus arboribus fructibus stagnis aquis comoditatibus eidem pertinentibus ac cum vno stabulo ibidem iuxta Chellesmore predictum cum pertinenciis dimisse Thome Downes per Indenturam sub sigillo communi nuper domus predicte datam xii^{mo} die Augusti anno Regni Regis Henrici VIII^{ui} xxix^{no} Habendum et tenendum dictam aulam cum cameris cellariis et edificiis ac pomerium cum arboribus fructibus stagnis aquis et comoditatibus ac stabulum predictum cum pertinenciis prefato Thome Downes et assignatis suis a dato indenture predicte usque ad finem termini l^{ta} annorum extunc proxime sequencium et plenarie complendorum reddendo inde annuatim vj^s viij^d ad festa sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Annunciacionis domine equis porcionibus et cetera ut in eadem indentura plenius continetur hoc anno termini sui secundo.

Summa xiiij^s iiij^d.

Et de v^s redditus cemitorii ibidem continentis per estimacionem iij Rodas terre vna cum le cloister yarde continente per estimacionem xx^{ti} perticatas terre existentis in manu et occupacione nuper prioris et confratrum domus predictæ tempore dissolutionis inde sic modo arentati per Georgium Giffard armigerum et Robertum Burgoyne officarios domini Regis ibidem existentes mense Julii anno xxxi^{mo} regis predicto circa superuisum domus predictæ et per eosdem officarios dimissi Thome Downes pro redditu predicto

Redditus
gardinorum
et aliorum
in tenura et
occupatione
nuper prioris
et confratrum
domus
predictæ
existentium
tempore dis-
solutionis
inde.

hoc anno soluendo ad festum Annunciacionis domine tantum ut patet per rentale fratrum et renovatum per officarios predictos mense et anno predicto. Et de ij^s de redditu duorum gardinorum iacentium infra precinctum domus predictæ quorum vnum iacet australiter ex parte orientali Cancellæ ecclesiæ ibidem continens per estimacionem xxxvi perticatas terre et alterum iacet ex parte australi coquine domus predictæ continens per estimacionem xvi perticatas terre existencium in manu nuper prioris et confratrum predictorum tempore dissolutionis domus predictæ sic arrentatorum per officarios predictos tempore superuisus predicti dimissorum prefato Thome Downes pro redditu predicto per annum soluendo ad festum predictum tantum ut patet per rentale predictum. Et de xij^d de redditu residui soli et terre domus predictæ existentis in manu nuper prioris et confratrum tempore dissolutionis predictæ vltra predicta duo gardina cemitorium et le cloister yarde sic arentat' per officarios predictos tempore superuisus predicti ac per eosdem officarios dimiss' prefato Thome Downes pro redditu predicto per annum soluendo termino supradicto.

Summa viij^s.

Summa Reddituum xxi^s iiij^d.

[There follows a statement of deductions allowed—

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namely 2s. as stipend of the collector, 2s. as stipend of the clerk, 13s. 4d. delivered to George Giffard. Of the remaining 3s. 6d., 1s. 9d. is allowed to Giffard because the cemetery and garden were for a time unoccupied, and 1s. 9d. to the same towards his expenses before the Dissolution of the House.]

III

LECTURE IV. p. 147

The following passage occurs in *Fasciculus Morum*, Part V., cap. 26, "de victoria fidei." Eton MS. 34, f. 69; cf. Bodl. 410, f. 71.

De sortilegiis contra fidem. Sed istam fidem impugnant et sibi contrariantur, quod dolendum est, his diebus tam homines quam mulieres qui contra ordinationem dei et ecclesie, diabolo instigante, quod proprium est deo summo creatori attribuunt creaturis, scilicet futura contingencia scire et predicere, sanitatem et infirmitatem cum fictis carminibus imponere et destruere. Cuiusmodi sunt qui dicuntur incantatores qui artem suam verbis exercent nequissimis, qui dicuntur anglice stilteris [Bodl. MS. tilsters], qui cum carminibus et aliis miseriis suis sanitatem promittunt. Unde quando stomachus alicuius ex nimia superfluitate cibi vel potus aggravatur, infirmatur, dicunt quod venter cecidit, et tunc oportet quod aliqua vetula misera tali arte imbuta adducatur ad fricandum ventrem et latera, que ut frequenter magis obest quam prodest, et maxime spiritualiter, eo quod huiusmodi artes inhibite sunt; et ideo in talibus est considerandum utrum naturaliter videatur si tales affectus possint causari annon; quia si non, consequens est quod pertinet ad artem demoniacam. Ex quo manifestum est quod natura efficaciam naturalem habere poterit, ut per Augustinum patet 12 de Civitate Dei. . . .

Sunt et aliqui qui ciromantici dicuntur, et sunt illi manuum inspectores, qui per liniamenta earum [MS. eorum] dicunt se futura contingencia scire et predicere, scilicet quot viros habebit et quot uxores talis, quo modo etiam talis est ad dignitatem promovendus, et talis in patibulo suspendendus, que omnia falsa sunt et ab arte diaboli collecta et ficta, eo quod in futuris contingentibus iudicium certum dari non potest nisi a deo.

Alii autem coniectores et sunt interpretatores sompniorum, qui scilicet nimis in talibus credunt; cum tamen in rei veritate ut communiter eveniunt ex aliqua causa naturali intrinseca. Verbi gratia: si vero complexio fuerit habundans ex humore frigido, tunc talis communiter sompniabit de aquis, nivibus et huiusmodi; quibus propositis respondent tales coniectores quod sibi evenient in promptu tribulationes et angustie. Si autem complexio fuerit calida et sicca, tunc naturaliter sompniabit de igne et luminaribus, cereis et candelis et huiusmodi; sed illis propositis dicunt quod mors in promptu eveniet; que omnia falsa sunt et vana et superstitiosa. Et idem patet de illis qui credunt in primis donis, anglice zer'szeuys [*year's gifts* ?] et hansels, per que credunt melius vel peius expedire in die et ebdomada, mense et anno.

Sunt etiam alii dicti arioli, ab aris nominati, qui etiam precibus et sacrificiis faciunt artem suam, qui etiam dicuntur ymaginarii et ydolatre, ydola colentes, et ut sibi respondeant de futuris oblaciones offerunt. Alii etiam phitonici seu specularii dicuntur, quorum est ars inspicere in speculis, in pelvibus, unguibus pollicis et huiusmodi, in quibus vident, ut dicunt, mirabilia.

Sunt et alii nigromantici a nigredine dicti sive vultuosi, et tales in circulis demones faciunt surgere ut ad quesita respondeant, et similiter in cera et alia molli materia componunt effigies hominum ad interficiendum

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eos. Unde nota de peregrino qui visitavit beatum Petrum, quo modo salvatus est ab uno tali.

Sunt etiam alii qui dicuntur sortilegi, dicti a sors sortis, qui scilicet faciunt per sortem artem suam, sicut patet de Rageman et festucis trahendis [Bodl. MS. de Ragemon et festucis contrahendis].¹ Sunt etiam mathematici, scilicet qui per stellas sciunt divinare et divina predicere. Versus :

Doctrinam mathesis notat sed diva mathesis,² etc.

Sed rogo quid dicendum est de talibus miseris et superstitiosis qui de nocte dicunt se videre reginas pulcherri-
mas et alias puellas tripudiantes cum domina Diana,
choreas ducentes cum dea paganorum, qui in nostro
vulgari dicuntur Elves, et credunt homines et mulieres
in alias transformare vel secum ducere apud Elvelond,
ubi iam, ut dicunt, manent illi fortissimi athlethe,
scilicet Onewone [MS. Bodl. Unewyn] et Wade, etc. :³

¹ "Ragman" or "rageman," among other meanings, was a game of chance played with a written roll having strings attached to the various items in it, one of which the player drew at random. A passage in the *Durham Halmote Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), p. 140, shows that it was a method of gambling prohibited by fine. Cf. Gower, *Conf. Amantis*, iii. 355, "as men draw of ragman for the chance." See *New English Dictionary*.

² MS. "Doctrinam mathesis not^a sed diua mathesis." Roger Bacon quotes the line as "Scire facit Mathesis sed divinare Mathesis" (Bridges, *Opus Majus*, i. 239, n. 1).

³ Wade may possibly be the Gado or Grado of Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*. Dr. M. R. James sends me the following extract from a sermon on the text "Humiliamini sub potenti manu Dei," in MS. Peterhouse, 255 (ii.) f. 49r. "Adam iam de homine factus (est) quod non homo, nec tantum Adam, sed omnes fere fiunt quod non homines. Ita quod dicere possunt cum Wade. Summe sende ylues | and summe send nadderres : | summe send nikeres | the bi den watere wunien | Nister man nenne | bute ildebrand onne." | (Some are elves, etc., there is none human save Hildebrand only.) This appears to be the only known fragment of the song of Wade. The passage is printed by

que omnia non sunt nisi fantasmata a maligno spiritu illis demonstrata. Nam cum diabolus animam alicuius ad talia magna credenda subiugavit, seipsum aliquando transformat, modo in forma angeli, modo in forma hominis, modo mulierum, modo aliarum creaturarum, modo super equos, modo super pedes, modo super equites in torneamentis et hastiludiis, modo ut dictum est in choreis et aliis ludis ; per que omnia talis miser animam sic per incredulitatem multipliciter captivam deludit ut talia credat vel enarret quod beatus Paulus asserere non audebat quando raptus est ad 3^m celum.

IV

LECTURE V. p. 175

*Printed Editions of the Works of John of Wales between
1470 and 1520*

Those in the British Museum and in the Cardiff Public Library are marked B.M. and C. respectively.

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| (1) [1470 ? 1467 ?]. | Cologne. | U.Zel. | B.M. C. | (Hain 7440). |
| (2) 1472. | [Cologne ?]. | | B.M. | (Hain 7441). ¹ |
| (3) 1475. | Augsburg. | A. Sorg. | B.M. C. | (Hain 7442). |
| (4) 1481. | Ulm. | Zainer. | B.M. C. | (Hain 7443). |
| (5) [1485 ?]. | [Louvain ?]. ² | | | |
| (6) 1489. | Strassburg. | [Jo. Greeninger]. ³ | B.M. | (Hain 7444) |

Professor Ker (*The Dark Ages*, p. 229), who tells me that Wade is Wate of the middle high German poem of Gudrun. I do not know who Unewyn or Onewone (possibly = the Solitary One ?) was.

¹ Hain gives this as printed at Brussels, "apud Fratres Communis Vitae"; Copinger (*Supplem.*) corrects this to "Colon. Arnold ther Hoernen."

² Contains *Breviloquium de sapientia sanctorum* and *De virtutibus antiquorum principum*, etc. under the title *Liber de instructione principum* (see *Grey Friars in Oxford*).

³ Name of printer given by Copinger, *Supplem.*

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- (7) 1496. Venice. G. Arrivabenis. B.M. C. (Hain 7446).
- (8) 1500. Strassburg. Knoblauch. (Copinger 2624).
- (9) 1511. Lyons. [Anon. press.] B.M. C.
- (10) 1516. Paris. Wolfgang Holpyl. B.M. C.
- (11) 1518. Strassburg. Knoblauch & Getz. B.M.
- (12) 1518. Hagenau. H. Gran. C. (Proctor 11,673).

Also [*Sine anno*] Speyer, Drach : Jo. Gallensis de sex aetatibus hominum (Hain 7447).

Also [*Sine anno et loco*] : Jo. Gallensis de sex aetatibus hominum (Hain 7448).

These two probably contain parts of the *Communiloquium*.

I have not noted here editions of the *Flores Doctorum* nor of the treatises of doubtful authenticity.

V

LECTURE V. p. 179

Moralization of Chess

I print this as a curiosity. It may be compared with the better known and more elaborate work of Jacobus de Cessolis, and the chapter (166) in the *Gesta Romanorum*.

The passage occurs only in some of the editions of John of Wales; in those namely of 1472 [?], 1489, and 1516; not in those of 1475, 1496, and 1511.

The text is copied from the edition of 1516 fol. xxix^v-xxx^r (*Communiloquium*, Pars I., Distinc. x. cap. vii.).

Mundus iste totus quoddam scaccarium est, cuius unus punctus est albus et alius niger, propter duplicem statum vite et mortis, gratie et culpe. Familia huius scaccarii sunt homines huius mundi, qui omnes de uno sacco materno extrahuntur, et collocantur in diversis

locis huius mundi, et singula habent diversa nomina. Unus dicitur rex, alter regina, tertius rochus, quartus miles, quintus alpinus, sextus pedinus. Unde versus :

Rex rochus alpinus miles regina pedinus.

Istius autem ioci conditio est talis, ut unus alium capiat; et cum ludum compleverint, sicut de uno loco et sacco exierunt, sic in unum locum reponuntur, nec est differentia inter regem et peditem pauperem, quia simul in unum dives et pauper. Et Sap. vii dicitur : Unus est introitus ad vitam et similis exitus. Et sepe contingit quod, quando familia scaccarii reponitur in sacculum, rex inferius collocatus est. Sic quando transeunt ab hac vita huius mundi, maiores in inferno sepeliuntur, et pauperes in sinum Abrahe deportantur, exemplo Divitis et Lazari.

In isto etiam ludo rex vadit circumquaque directe et capit undique semper directe, in signum quod rex omnia iuste capiat, et in nullo omissa iusticia omnibus exhibenda obliquare debet. Sed modo quicquid agit, iusticia reputatur, quia quicquid principi placet iuris habet vigorem.

Regina sive domina, que dicitur Ferze, capit et vadit oblique, quia, cum avarissimum sit genus mulierum, quicquid capit, nisi mere detur ex gratia, rapina est et iniusticia.

Rochus est iusticiarius perambulans totam terram, directa tamen linea, ita quod nihil oblique capiat muneribus corruptus, sed omnia iuste corrigit nulli parcens. Sed e contra de illis iam verificatur illud Amos iii. : convertisti in amaritudinem iudicium et fructum iudicii in absinthium.

Miles vero in capiendo duo puncta transit directa¹ et tertium obliquat in signum quod miles et domini terreni poterunt iuste capere redditus debitos et iustas emendas

¹ For directe (?).

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a delinquentibus secundum exigentiam delicti; sed tertium punctum obliquat cum talliagia et iniustas exactiones extorquent a subditis.

Alphini vero cornuti sunt episcopi, non ut Moyses ex colloquio divino, sed potius regio imperio vel prece aut precio sublimati. Isti alphini oblique currunt et capiunt, tria puncta pertranseundo, quia fere omnes prelatos pervertunt odium et amor et munerum favor, ne delinquentes reprehendant et contra vicia latrent, sed potius pro annuo censu peccata ad ferinam¹ tradunt, ut sic diabolus ditent. Unde qui debuerunt viciorum extirpatores esse tam per cupiditatem facti sunt viciorum promotores et diaboli procuratores.

Pedinus vero pauperculus est qui incedendo semper vadit directe in sua simplicitate, sed, quando capere vult, obliquat; sic semper dum in sua simplicitate et paupertate consistit, directe vivit, sed cum querit aliquid temporale vel honorem consequitur, statim mendaciis, periuriis, adulationibus et favoribus obliquat, quousque ad gradum superiorem scaccarii perveniat et tunc duo puncta pertransit, tertium obliquat. Sic pauper, cum elevatur, statim perverse incedit, quia asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum.

In isto scaccario diabolus dicit "eschack," insultando aliquem et percutiendo peccati iaculo: qui sic percussus nisi citius dicat "liveret" ad penitentiam recurrendo, dicit diabolus ei "matt," animam secum ad tartara deducendo, a quo nec liberabitur prece vel precio, quia in inferno nulla est redemptio.

¹ *For feriam* (?).

VI

LIST OF FRANCISCAN CUSTODIES AND HOUSES
IN THE PROVINCE OF ENGLAND

According to a doubtful reading in the Phillipps MS. of Eccleston, the English Province was originally divided into four custodies.¹ This division, if it ever existed, cannot have lasted long, as Eccleston expressly mentions six custodies—those of London, Oxford, Cambridge, York, Salisbury, and Worcester—and refers incidentally to a “custos” of Hereford, implying the existence of a seventh custody of Hereford.²

The earliest lists of provinces which give the names of the custodies and houses are those preserved by Friar Paulino of Venice, Bishop of Pozzuoli (c. 1334),³ and by Friar John Clyn of Ireland.⁴ The latter states that his list (which comprises only the provinces of England and Ireland) was taken from the official list drawn up in the General Chapter [of Perpignan] in 1331. Paulino’s list, so far as it relates to these two provinces, corresponds in the order (not in the spelling⁵) of the names almost exactly with Clyn’s, and was no doubt derived from the same official source.

¹ Eccleston, p. 42. The doubt is due to a figure which may or may not be a badly formed Arabic 4.

² *Ibid.* pp. 42-5, 111.

³ Edited by Eubel, *Provinciale Vetustissimum* (Quaracchi, 1892), and in *Bull. Franc.* v. 579-602. On the date cf. Golubovich, *Bibl. Bio-Bibliog.* ii. 101.

⁴ *Annalium Hibern. Chron. ad annum 1349*, ed. R. Butler, Irish Arch. Soc., 1849, pp. 38-9.

⁵ The English and Irish place-names in Paulino’s list and in the later list of Bartholomew of Pisa, c. 1385 (*Anal. Franc.* iv. 545-7), are sometimes distorted beyond recognition, and the attempts of the editors to give the modern equivalents are not always successful.

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The list here printed is the Perpignan list of 1331.

“ ENGLAND has seven custodies, namely :

“ I. LONDON having eight houses—London, Salisbury, Canterbury, Winchelsea, Southampton, Lewes, Winchester, Chichester.¹

“ II. OXFORD having eight houses—Oxford, Reading, Bedford, Stamford, Nottingham, Northampton, Leicester, Grantham.

“ III. BRISTOL having nine houses—Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, Carmarthen, Cardiff, Bridgewater, Exeter, Dorchester, Bodmin.²

“ IV. CAMBRIDGE having eight houses—Cambridge, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, King's Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Colchester, Dunwich.³

“ V. WORCESTER having nine houses—Worcester, Coventry, Lichfield, Stafford, Preston, Shrewsbury, Chester, Llanfaes, Bridgenorth.

“ VI. YORK having seven houses—York, Lincoln, Beverley, Doncaster, Boston, Grimsby, Scarborough.

“ VII. NEWCASTLE having nine houses—Newcastle, Richmond, Hartlepool, Carlisle, Berwick, Roxburgh, Haddington, Dundee, Dumfries.”

Later on in his list of provinces, at the end of the ultramontane provinces, Friar Paulino adds (§ xviii.): “ The Vicariate of Scotland has six houses : Berwick, Haddington, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Lanark, Dundee.”

The Vicariate of Scotland was formed in 1329 (and lasted till 1359).⁴ The house at Lanark was founded 1328–9.⁵ The English Province had evidently not

¹ Bartholomew of Pisa adds Ware (founded c. 1350).

² Paulino places the last four names (Bridgewater to Bodmin) first.

³ Bartholomew of Pisa adds Walsingham (founded 1347).

⁴ *Lanercost Chron.* p. 265 ; *Chron. XXIV. Generalium* in *Arial. Franc.* iii. 557.

⁵ Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 240.

made the necessary alterations in its returns in time for the General Chapter of Perpignan.

The Perpignan list of custodies (1331) differs from the list given by Eccleston (*c.* 1257).

(1) Hereford in 1331 is in the province of Bristol. Probably this merely means that the headship of the custody had been transferred (at some unknown date) from an ecclesiastical to a commercial centre.

(2) Newcastle appears as a custody in 1331, not in Eccleston. It is possible that it was simply omitted by Eccleston, who does not expressly give a complete list of the custodies. More probably the custody of Newcastle was at some unknown date separated from the custody of York, which may have originally included all the northern houses.

(3) Eccleston's custody of Salisbury has disappeared in 1331, and the Salisbury house is included in the custody of London, occurring in the list immediately after the London house. The only document which gives any indication of the extent of the custody of Salisbury is the *Tabula septem custodiarum*, the list of English libraries arranged according to the custody in which they were situated (see above, pp. 164-5). The *Tabula* mentions as being within the custody of Salisbury monastic and cathedral libraries at Lewes, Chichester, Winchester, Southampton, and Salisbury, *i.e.* five out of the eight houses which formed the London custody. The latter would thus have contained in Eccleston's time the houses of London and Canterbury, the short-lived house at Romney, and possibly that at Winchelsea. It would be interesting to know when the Salisbury custody ceased to exist, as this would help us to date the original compilation of the *Tabula septem custodiarum*.

It is clear that some rearrangement of the custodies of the English Province was attempted in 1330, when Henry, Earl of Lancaster, successfully appealed against

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a proposal of the Franciscan authorities—probably the provincial chapter—to transfer the house of Preston from the custody of Worcester to some other custody, probably Newcastle.¹ This perhaps implies a rearrangement consequent on the establishment of the Vicariate of Scotland. The creation of the custody of Newcastle and the absorption of the custody of Salisbury in the custody of London probably took place long before 1330.

¹ *Bull. Franc.* v. 483.

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